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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1930.

CONTENTS

	Page.
Emerson in Concord—Louise A. Nelson, M.A. ...	1
Position of Women in Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century—Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A.	17
An Interview with the Archbishop of York—B. L. Sharma	33
Red Lilies (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland Anderson ...	36
Walter Savage Landor, Rose Aylmer, and their Association with Calcutta—Kalipada Mukherjee ...	37
Revival of Brahmanism and Buddhism—Mohini Mohan Chatterji. M.A., B.L., Solicitor	45
A Critical Study of the Layton Report with special reference to Bengal's Finance—Prakash Chandra Mallik, M.A.	51
The Stirrup-Cup (*Poem*)—Terèsa Strickland... ...	63
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A.	64
Mr. Atul Bose's Art—D. Mukherji	68
A Friendly Tree (*Poem*)—Cherry Jalass	72
Henrik Ibsen—K. R. Srinivas Iyengar	73
Agriculture in Old Bengal—Tamonash Chandra Das Gupta, M.A.	94
Autumn Song (*Poem*)—Jinkichi Matsuda	100
The Makara in Indian Art—Deva Prasad Ghosh, M.A. ...	101
Song Unsung (*Poem*)—Mohini Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M.A , B.L., Solicitor	112
Robert Bridges—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. ...	113

Page.

REVIEWS :

Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum—P. C. B. 128
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India—P. C. B. ... 128

OURSELVES :

Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1930 130
The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1930 130
Dates for M. B. Examinations 130
Result of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, Aug., 1930 ... 130
Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law. July, 1930 ... 130
Inter-University Board Circular issued by the Govt. of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands 131
Press Communique, dated the 4th July, 1930, received from the Assistant Secretary to the Govt. of India, Army Department 133
Aonach Tailteann (The Tailteann Games) to take place in Dublin, in August, 1931 135
Rabindranath Tagore in Munich 138

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OF THE

THIRD INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS, 1927

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1930

EMERSON IN CONCORD

The story goes that some years ago a Japanese student who had just entered Yale was asked by a professor of that University why he had left his own country to come to America to study. The Japanese replied that in Tokyo he had, by chance, run across a book by Ralph Waldo Emerson which had been translated into Japanese, and the contents had made such a lasting impression upon him that he had at once vowed to see for himself the country which had produced such a man. This is only one illustration from many where Emerson's word has influenced an individual of a different generation and nationality. Emerson always spoke to individuals—not to a crowd, for everyone who reads him with the receptive attitude, feels that his stimulating words are addressed to him alone.

It was in 1803 that Emerson was born in Summer Street, Boston, near what is now the South Terminal Station. Edgar Allan Poe and Benjamin Franklin were also born there but these three geniuses, of course, are different. Emerson was always extremely fond of Boston, and, in one of his poems he says, "This darling town of ours." On his father's side, Emerson came of eight successive generations of ministers and consequently he was well supplied with religion. On his mother's side, he was also descended from clerical ancestors. William

Emerson, Ralph Waldo's father, was a clergyman of the transition of Unitarianism, and Ruth Haskins, his mother, was a woman with no small amount of courage. In 1811 her husband passed on and this left her with five boys to bring up. Ralph Waldo was the second of the five.

It would not be fair to say that Emerson was exactly an abnormal boy, but it is true that he had no intimate playmates. He did not take part in sports or athletic contests in school or college, for he never pretended to care for such things. He spent his time studying and meditating. Dr. William H. Furness says: "I don't think he ever enjoyed in boy's plays; not because of any physical inability, but simply because, from his earliest years, he dwelt in a higher sphere. My one deep impression is, that, from his earliest childhood, our friend lived and moved and had his being in an atmosphere of letters, quite apart by himself. I can as little remember when he was not literary in his pursuits as when I first made his acquaintance."[1] In Emerson's Journal of 1859, there is the following: "'In the morning solitude,' said Pythagoras. By all means give the youth solitude, that Nature may speak to his imagination, as it does never in company; and for the like reason give him a chamber alone:—and that was the best thing I found in college." Emerson, of course, was mature when he wrote this but it shows how necessary solitude was to him.

But to return to the father of this family. He was a cheerful and genial man, of literary taste and skill. For years he was editor of the *Monthly Anthology*, a journal in which the best men of letters of the day in Boston and in Cambridge were interested. He was one of the founders of the *Ministers' Library*, afterwards merged in the *Boston Athenaeum*. Both he and his father, William of Concord, were admired for their eloquence; they were more interested in the central ethics of Christianity than in the grim doctrines in which it had been

[1] From a letter about Emerson by his earliest friend, Dr. Furness.

developed; and, in spite of the reaction towards Calvinism which Whitefield's eloquence and Edward's fire had produced in many New England churches, they did not emphasize Grace in their sermons, but appealed to the virtue and good sense of their people in the name of God.

> "For faith and truth and mighty love,
> Which from the Godhead flow,
> Showed them the life in heaven above
> Springs from the life below." [1]

Whether his duties occupied Mr. Emerson's time so much that he could not spare much to his children, or that Ralph was too much concerned with his meditations to notice his father except when he was made to do so, is not known; but the son had very little recollection of his father, although it seems that in the family letters, Ralph's education had begun before he was three, at the "dame school," and that his father, when at home, required that William and Ralph should recite to him a sentence of English grammar before breakfast.

It has been noted that Rev. William Emerson died in 1811 and, to a woman of Mrs. Emerson's type, the providing for her sons meant infinitely more than mere food, raiment, and shelter. Their souls came first, their minds next, their bodies last: this was the order in which their claims presented themselves to the brave mother's mind. Her sons would have to be educated, for the traditions of the family in all its branches required that they should be well read and instructed, and Harvard College was the means by which this was to be attained. The friends of her husband and his parishioners, and the relatives did what they could to help the family of their departed pastor. The church continued the salary for six months and paid five hundred dollars a year for seven years. Mrs. Emerson stayed in the parsonage and the successor of her husband boarded with her,

[1] Hymn by Mr. Emerson at the ordination of his successor, Rev. Chandler Robbins.

but he did not live long. When Mr. Frothingham was settled as minister, Mrs. Emerson moved first to Atkinson Street, then to a house on Beacon Hill, and supported her family by taking boarders. The boys took care of the vestry. Their mother, however, did not want them to lose much time from their reading. "To their books they took as ducklings to water." It was when someone spoke of their progress that their Aunt Mary said: "Sir, they were born to be educated." One cannot over-estimate the effect upon these young minds of their proud, pious, exacting and, best of all, inspiring Aunt Moody Emerson. In her infancy she had been adopted by relatives who were so poor that they lived in constant fear of the sheriff. She, who had been trained in hardship and sordid poverty and in religious influences mostly Calvinistic, had read more books than most of the clergymen of her time. Although she was often cruelly frank in her criticisms of her friends, she was very fond of her young relatives, and commanded their loyal affection. Their mother was the serene presence in the house, and their aunt was the stimulant. She guided the reading of her nephews and made them think about it. Of her, her nephew wrote: "She gave high counsels. It was the privilege of certain boys to have this immeasurably high standard indicated to their childhood, a blessing which nothing else in education could supply." "Lift your aims;" "Always do what you are afraid to do;" "Scorn trifles;"—were some of the maxims she gave her nephews and they made them their own. In his Journal dated simply February seventh, is the following: "The religion of of my Aunt is the purest and most sublime of any I can conceive. It appears to be based on broad and deep and remote principles of experience and adequateness to an end-principle which few can comprehend and fewer feel. It labours to reconcile the apparent insignificancy of the field to the surpassing grandeur of the Operator, and founds the benignity and Mercy of the Scheme on adventurous but probable comparisons of the condition of other orders of being. Although it is an intellectual

offspring of beauty and splendour, if that were all, it breathes a practical spirit of rigid and austere devotion. It is independent of forms and ceremonies, and its ethereal nature gives a glow of soul to her whole life." Then again, in his account of her he says: "She had the misfortune of spinning with a greater velocity than any of the other tops—in ordinary motion, in conversation, in thought."

In 1813 Ralph, as he was called until he left college, when he chose to be called Waldo, entered the Latin school and received there most of his official schooling until he entered college. He made two lifetime friends before he was ten years old: William Furness, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman, and Samuel Bradford, a respected man of affairs. Both survived him. An English biographer has said that Emerson "chose to lead a life of absolute conformity to the moral law." Dr. Furness says that he has heard Emerson's own confession to the effect that he deliberately and continuously played truant at the Webb School, and that he enjoyed the stolen hours on the Common until such time as was needed for "sorrow, dogging sin" in the shape of bread and butter confinement probably devoted to the making of verses. It may be true that Emerson did not indulge in athletics but his boyhood was not entirely devoid of those things on which most boys thrive. In a Journal there is the following: "Affectionate recollections of going into water after school in Charles Street, and the plafond view of rope-walks. What dangers turned us pale at a panic of North-Enders, South-Enders, Round-Pointers! Sea-Fencibles and the soldiery of 1813, and Noodle's Island. The pride of local knowledge of the Extinguisher, Dispatch and Cataract fire-engines. Armories and immense procession of boys in uniform at the Washington Benevolent Association." But he always found that his social life was only good for him when it was an undiluted distillation of solitude.

The family began to feel the pinch of poverty towards the end of 1814, and, it is said, they even fell short of bread.

Dr. Ezra Ripley instantly came to their aid and took his step-son's widow and her boys to his fireside in Concord. A letter from Edward to William (Dec. 1814), who was then a *Freshman* in college, shows that the brothers were in the Concord schools. "Ralph and I and Charles go to Mr. Patten's school. Charles spelt with the first class. We all say that we like Mr. Patten better every day. I wish very much that you could come here." Each son, except Buckeley who was mentally weak, was prepared for college, and each one did his share of the work himself. They lived frugally among the frugal; applied for and kept any scholarships they could get; earned money by serving in the Commons or by helping their more prosperous and perhaps less diligent fellow-students; by teaching during the vacations; and by winning an occasional prize for a poem, declamation, or essay. Mrs. Emerson never lacked friends who gladly helped her boys, but any assistance received she accepted only as a loan to be returned. Each of her sons felt it his duty to help her and the younger ones.

Ralph Waldo Emerson entered Harvard at the age of fourteen. In his Freshman year he was a hired messenger for the President—a so-called "President's Freshman." This enabled him to have a free room in Wadsworth House. He tutored, waited upon the tables in term time, and taught school during the vacation. During the last three years of college Emerson lived in Hollis, but he lived as much by himself as was possible in a college dormitory. If the Emerson boys could not get enough money by writing, they sometimes took contracts outside. Where the money went that the boys managed to earn is easily shown when one remembers that Ralph Waldo sent home the five dollars which he won at the Boylston prize declamation but on his next visit home he found that William (the oldest brother) had paid the baker with it. Ralph was hoping that his mother would use it to buy a shawl. He was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1821, and was chosen class poet.

Ralph was his brother William's assistant in a finishing school for young ladies. William had opened this school and, when Ralph was well established, William went to Germany to study for the ministry. Ralph conducted the school for more than a year, but it was a trial for a timid youth who was not used to girls. Many of the girls were older than he was and, on election day, they used to ask him to give them a holiday so that he could vote. They knew he was under twenty-one, but they liked to see him blush. In the meantime, he was preparing himself for the ministry. He closed the school on February 8, 1825, after he had become free from debt, and the next day he went to Cambridge to study divinity. Emerson, of course, became a Unitarian minister, and he might have continued in that profession if it had not been for the fact that he did not like to preach and that he did not like pastoral work. At one time he had to visit an old parishioner who was preparing to leave this earth. The young minister sat by the bedside of the old man, but he could not think of a thing to say. After a long silence, he stammered out a few generalities. This, however, annoyed the old fellow who exclaimed in an irritable tone of voice: "Young man, if you don't know your business, you had better go home!" Emerson took the advice and, furthermore, he soon left the ministry.

Before he left the church a great influence came into his life. In December 1827, during a visit to Concord, he met Ellen Louisa Tucker, and went away not unaffected by her sterling character and her beauty. In the same month of the next year he was engaged to her. When he began to speak of his prospects he records that she said, "I do not wish to hear of your prospects." That is a very unusual incident. Within a month, however, when the "prospects" were the brightest, Ellen Tucker showed alarming signs of the development of consumption. In the summer of 1829, however, when Emerson went with her and her family on a driving journey in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, she apparently improved.

They were married at Concord on September thirtieth, and Emerson took her to Boston to the house of his parishioners and lifelong friends, Mr. and Mrs. Abel Adams on Charadon Street. Emerson's mother lived with them, and her son, Charles, then studying law, was one of the family also. The young wife, however, passed on a year and a half after her marriage in spite of all the care that was given her. In his Journal dated February 13, 1831, Chardon St., there is the following passage: "Five days are wasted since Ellen went to Heaven to see, to know, to worship, to love, to intercede..... Reunite us, O thou Father of our spirits... ..Shall I ever again be able to connect the face of outward nature, the mists of the morn, the star of the eve, the flowers, and all poetry, with the heart and life of an enchanting friend? No, there is one birth, and one baptism, and one first love, and the affections cannot keep their youth any more than men." In Journal XX of 1829, there is the following which is addressed to her:

"All that thy virgin soul can ask be thine,
Beautiful Ellen,—let this prayer be mine.
The first devotion that my soul has paid,
To mortal grace it pays to thee, fair maid.
I am enamoured of thy loveliness,
Lovesick with thy sweet beauty, which shall bless,
With its glad light my path of life around,
Which now is joyless where thou art now found.
Now am I stricken with the sympathy
That binds the whole world in electric tie;
I hail love's birth within my hermit breast,
And welcome the bright ordinance to be blest.
I was a hermit when the love Muse cheers,
I sped apart my solitary years,
I found no joy in woman's meaning eye
When Fashion's merry mob were dancing by;
Yet had I read the law all laws above,
Great nature hath ordained the heart to love;
Yet had I heard that in this mortal state
To every mind exists its natural mate;

That God at first did marry soul to soul,
Though lands divide and seas between them roll.
Then eagerly I searched each circle round,
I panted for my mate, but no mate found.
I saw bright eyes, fair forms, complexions fine,
But not a single soul that spoke to mine.
At last the star broke through the hiding cloud,
At last I found thee in the silken crowd;
I found thee, Ellen, born to love and shine,
And I who found am blessed to call thee mine."

The following is also found in one of his Journals :

" Dear, Ellen, many a golden year
May ripe, then dim thy beauty's bloom,
But never shall the hour appear
In sunny joy, in sorrow's gloom,
When aught shall hinder me from telling
My ardent love, all loves excelling.

The spot is not in the rounded earth
In cities vast, in islands lone,
When I will not proclaim thy worth,
With you, with you, I'll say I love thee,
Be the moon of Jove or of Mars above thee.

And when this porcelain clay of thine
Is laid beneath the cold earth's flowers,
And close beside reposes mine,
Prey to the sun and air and showers,
I'll find thy soul in the upper sphere,
And say I love thee in Paradise here."

It has been noted that Emerson left the ministry. In June, 1832 he proposed to his church that they should dispense with the use of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and not insist upon the authority for its observance. It is said that many of the younger members of his church were ready to follow him in his views and practice, though one lady came to him after the meeting and said : " You have taken my Lord away.

and I know not where you have laid Him." The church did not permit him to make the changes he proposed or to discontinue his part in the rite. He became a Lyceum Lecturer, the greatest, perhaps, that America has ever known. He lectured in England and in New England, in western villages, and along the coast of California. On December 25, 1832, he sailed for Europe and landed at Malta. He went to Italy, England, and France. During this visit he met Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Landor, and he also laid the foundation for his long friendship with Carlyle. In his essay on *Self-reliance*, he says that "travelling is a fool's paradise." Emerson believed that no person could gain any inspiration from travelling unless he already had the inspiration within himself.

It is said that when Emerson was asked by his cousin, the Rev. David Green Haskins, to define his religious position, he said very slowly: "I believe I am more of a Quaker than anything else. I believe in the 'still small voice,' and that voice is Christ within us." In 1834 one finds him lecturing and preaching with his headquarters at Concord. While he was preaching at Plymouth he met Miss Lydia Jackson, and in September 1835, he married her and brought her home to the house he had purchased in Concord where they lived the rest of their lives. With his inheritance from his first wife, his lecturing fees, and the income from his books, he was able to live a life of meditation and reading.

In 1836 he published the first essay in *Nature*, which he had begun in 1834. On the first page of this essay he shows the independent soul that is bound by no tradition. "Let us demand our own works and laws and worship." Emerson, in *Nature*, and Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus*, produced early in life a book that contained much of their philosophy. It took eleven years to sell only five hundred copies of *Nature*, and this shows that the influence of a book is sometimes in inverse proportion to its commercial success. It did not take Carlyle very long to recognize the significance of his friend's book,

for he wrote: "Your little azure-colored *Nature* gave me true satisfaction. I read it, and then lent it about to all my acquaintances that had a sense for such things; from whom a similar verdict always came back. You say it is the first chapter of something greater. I call it rather the Foundation and Ground-plan on which you may build whatsoever of great and true has been given you to build. It is the true Apocalypse, this when the Open Secret becomes revealed to a man. I rejoice much in the glad serenity of soul with which you look out on this wondrous Dwelling-place of yours and mine, with an ear for the *Ewigen Melodien*, which pipe in the winds round us, and utter themselves forth in all sounds and sights and things." The difference between Carlyle and Emerson is the difference between the concrete and the abstract. Carlyle was interested in Men: Oliver, Frederick; Emerson was interested in Man. One cannot imagine Emerson's writing a novel, but Carlyle began his career by writing one.[1] Carlyle, however, never finished this novel. Once he wrote to Emerson: "I wish you would become *concrete*, and write in prose the straightest way." Emerson did not read many novels, but one of the few he did read was Sir Walter Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*. It is in Carlyle's *French Revolution* that the dead come to life again and one can see them as they lived; it is in Emerson's essays that one sometimes moves in a world of abstractions but one breathes purified air.

On November 9, 1837, Emerson wrote the following in his Journal; "Right-minded men have recently been called to decide for abolition." That same day he received a letter in behalf of the Salem Lyceum which requested him to lecture there the next winter. The letter further stated; "The subject is, of course, discretionary with yourself, provided no allusions are made to religious controversy, or other exciting topics upon which the public mind is honestly divided." Emerson

[1] Wotton Reinfred.

wrote in his Journal, " I replied on the same day to Mr.— by quoting these words and adding," ' I am really sorry that any person in Salem should think me capable of accepting an invitation so encumbered.' "

From the beginning of the anti-slavery movement, Emerson stood for Freedom. He had even admitted anti-slavery speakers into his pulpit. In November of 1837 he made an anti-slavery address and in 1844 he made another one on the occasion of the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act by Congress was not welcomed by Emerson. He woke in the mornings with a sad heart. In his public speeches at this time he spoke of it as " a law which everyone of you will break on the earliest occasion; a law which no man can obey or abet without loss of self-respect and forfeiture of the name of gentleman." One day when his children told him that the subject given out for the school composition was *The Building of a House* he said; " You must be sure to say that no house now-a-days is perfect without having a nook where a fugitive slave can be safely hidden away." In his Journal of 1853 he writes; " I waked last night and bemoaned because I had thrown myself into this deplorable question of slavery, which seems to want nothing so much as a few assured voices. But then in hours of sanity I recover myself, and say, God must govern his own world, and knows his way out of this pit without any desertion of my post, which has none to guard it but me. I have quite other slaves to free than those negroes, to wit, imprisoned spirits, imprisoned thoughts, far back in the brain of man, far retired in the heaven of invention, and which, important to the republic of man, have no watchman or lover or defender but I." In his Journal of January 1, 1861 he writes, " The furious slave-holder does not see that the one thing he is doing by night and by day is to destroy slavery. They who help and they who hinder are all equally diligent in hastening its downfall. Blessed be the inevitabilities.

Do the duty of the hour. Just now the supreme public duty of all thinking men is to assert freedom. Go where it is threatened and say 'I am for it and do not wish to live in the world a moment longer than it exists.'

Charles Emerson who was to marry Miss Elizabeth Hoar had intended to live with his brother Ralph Waldo. But as Charles reached the age of thirty he passed on in May 1836, just a few months before he was to marry. His brother wrote, "And here I am at home again. My brother, my friend, my ornament, my joy and pride has fallen by the wayside, or rather has risen out of his dust. Beautiful without any parallel in my experience of young men was his life; happiest his death. Miserable is my own prospect from whom my friend is taken. I read now his pages, I remember all his words and motives without any pang, so healthy and humane a life it was, and not like Edward's, a tragedy of poverty and sickness tearing genius. I have felt in him the inestimable advantage, when God allows it, of finding a brother and a friend in one."

It is said that when Emerson was delivering a new lecture in Concord, Miss Helen Thoreau said to Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Emerson's sister, "There is a thought almost identical with that in Henry's Journal." Mr. Brown took it to Emerson who was interested and asked her to bring the youth to see him. She did, and a relation which lasted all their lives began. Thoreau lived with Emerson two years. The following is found in a Journal: "Long ago I wrote of Gifts and neglected a capital example. John Thoreau, Jr., one day put a blue-bird's box on my barn,—fifteen years ago, it must be,—and there it still is, with every summer a melodious family in it, adorning the place and singing his praises. There's a gift for you which cost the giver no money, but nothing which he bought could have been so good...I think of another quite inestimable; John Thoreau knew how much I should value a head of little Waldo, then five years old. He came to me and offered to take him to a daguerreotypist who was then in town, and he, Thoreau, would

see it well done. He did it and brought me the daguerre, which I thankfully paid for. A few months after, my boy died, and I have since to thank John Thoreau for that wise and gentle piece of friendship." [1] Waldo was an affectionate and sedate little boy who used to follow his father from the study to the garden. His words: "Papa, I am afraid you will dig your leg," has been told to illustrate Emerson's lack of dexterity with tools. He found out through experience that the handling of a hoe or a spade was for him a luxury. His gardening was confined to the picking up of fruit or to the pruning of trees. In writing of his garden, he says: "Rosebugs and wasps appear best when flying; they sail like little pinnaces of the air. I admired them most *when flying away from my garden.*"

Emerson was glad to assume any duties that the town placed upon him. Almost immediately upon his arrival to Concord he was chosen a member of the School Committee, and later he served on it for a number of years. He never felt that he had the least executive ability, and on the village Committee, as later on the Board of Overseers of the University, he was unusually modest. Always practical, always punctiliously courteous was Emerson. His sometimes rather bold ideas never ruined his manners. When the dinner bell rang, he put asiden his pen, even if he were in the middle of a sentence; it was not right to keep anyone waiting. Emerson was not a philosopher like Kant, Schopenhauer, or Berkeley. He was a philosopher in the sense that he was a lover of wisdom. He was serene in his life and in his mind. He *announced* truths, and was so sure of them that he did not pay much attention whether they were accepted or not. He had very little of the propaganda spirit, and he knew that the truth would eventually prevail. He refused to argue and he declined to explain. Intuition was his only basis. Emerson reported what he saw with the eye of the spirit just as a realistic novelist would report what he saw

[1] John Thoreau, Jr., was the older brother of Henry.

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in the natural world. In reply for a request for details he wrote: "I could not give account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mind stands; for I do not know what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men." He believed that the Divine Personality included everything. He believed that nature and man were both divine —that man is the voice and the nature hand-writing of God. While Emerson's mind was free of the limits of all space and time, he was strongly identified with Boston and Concord. He was an observer as well as a mystic. It has been well said that in Emerson's *Essays*, "the whole is often less than the sum of its parts." One is constantly stimulated by a succession of epigrams. Some of his essays read as well backwards as forwards: one can begin anywhere and still find some striking challenge to thought. Emerson's purpose is not so much to think a subject through for his readers and give them the result of his meditation as it is to startle them into thinking for themselves. His style is most peculiarly fitted to do this, and he does not look at both sides of any question. He does not load down his sentences with clauses which qualify the main issue. He throws at the reader a strong statement so one-sided that at first it almost provokes contradiction. His purpose, of course, is to stimulate thought. His short, terse sentences rouse the sluggish mind into vigorous action.

It is said that Emerson's skill in taking and handling a baby was in remarkable contrast to his awkwardness with tools or animals. The nurse, who drew back instinctively when he offered to take a brand-new baby from her arms, soon saw that there was no cause for her anxiety. If a child cried at the table, Emerson would send it out to see if the gate had been closed or whether the clouds were coming up—so confident was he that the great face of Nature would calm the little grief.

With young people he always inspired affection and awe, but never fear. The sincerity, the beauty, the hopefulness of young people always charmed him.

The school of thought, beginning in Unitarianism, went into Transcendentalism, and then into such movements like Abolitionism and social reform. When Thoreau was jailed for his political principles, Emerson went to see him, and was shocked at the sight behind the bars. To his sad question: "Henry, why are you here?" came the defiant rejoinder, "Why are you not here?"

Emerson's last few years were happy and quiet. He read a lecture before his townspeople each winter as late as 1880, but he had to have one of his family close by in order to help him with a word and to assist him in keeping his place in the manuscript. On April 27, 1882, he passed on. A boulder properly marks his resting place, and the inscription thereupon is characteristically obscure to those unfamiliar with his philosophy.

> "The passive master lent his hand
> To the vast soul that o'er him planned."

If anyone is puzzled by these two lines, he should read Emerson's poem, *The Problem*. In regard to Emerson, one might well quote the words of Matthew Arnold: "He is the friend of all those who live in the spirit." One needs to say no more.

LOUISE A. NELSON

POSITION OF WOMEN IN BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The middle of the Eighteenth Century forms an important epoch in the History of Bengal. It was the time which witnessed a good many political, social and economic changes pregnant with important issues for the future. It is really important to know what was the actual condition of women in the society of Bengal during that transitional period in the country's life.

For average Hindu women in gentle families religious worship was one of their daily duties[1]; it was on the good or bad actions of a mistress that the weal or woe of a family depended.[2] Mr. Dow writes in his 'Hindustan' :—"Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The Harem is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."[3] Verelst, on the other hand, has drawn quite a contrary picture of the women of the age; but his conclusion seems to have been based more or less on isolated instances or practices amongst certain classes, rather than on a general and accurate survey of the social conditions of the whole country. He says, " Women in the East are transferred with little ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men seldom await their consent. Were our laws of rape and rules of evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the penalty of

[1] "With a deep reverence Vidyā began her worship," Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, p. 74 (Basumati Edn.).

[2] "Family pleasures depend on the virtues or vice of the mistress," Bhāratacandra, " Hari Hoḍe Annadār Dayā" in Annandāmangala, p. 55 (B.E.).

[3] Quoted by Verelst in his "View of the Rise, Progress, etc., of Bengal," p. 138

death."[4] He cites in his favour the case of Mirjafar presenting Clive with many of Sirajuddowlah's women after the latter's defeat at the hands of the English. But the circumstances under which these women were presented were apparently unusual; for though Mirjafar had been placed on the Musnud of Bengal, still in reality he was busy in securing the favour of Clive, in whose hands the key of the political destiny of Bengal had already been transferred. Moreover, Mirjafar was himself a weak-minded moral wretch,[5] and his treatment of women must have been something different from that of an ordinary man with a grain of morality or common sense in him. We have other instances which would show that "women in the East" were not "transferred with little ceremony." Sherferaz Khan had to suffer in the long run for his unrestrained passion for the newly-married daughter-in-law of Jagat Seth,[6] and Sirajuddowlah was also amply paid back for his lust after Tārāsundarī, the daughter of Rāni Bhavāṇī.[7] Verelst has again pointed out that "In the year 1762, a native detected one of his women in an act of infidelity. Throughout the East, women are wholly subject to the will of their masters and every husband is the avenger of his own wrongs. The man, therefore, satisfied of her guilt, proceeded to punishment by cutting off her nose. He was arraigned at the Calcutta sessions. He confessed that he had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the

[4] View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p 141.

[5] "Towards the close of Nawab Mahabet Jung's rule, Mirjafar kept two women named Muni Begum and Baboo Begum. He loved them passionately but through fear of Aly Verdy kept the matter concealed."—Khulāṣat ut-Tawārikh, B. and O. Research Society's Journal, 1919, pp. 291, 325.

[6] Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 495.... ..although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family by shewing a wife unveiled to the stranger.

[7] Akṣaya Kumār Maitra's Sirajuddowlah, pp. 80-81. The author writes in the footnote that this story was collected from Late Rājā Umesacandra of Barānagar and has been published by a noted writer Viṣṇucaraṇa Caṭṭopādhyāya, in the old monthly magazine 'Navya Bhārata' of 1298 B. S.; 'Sāhitya,' Magh, 1304 B. S

woman was his property; and that, by such customs, he had a right to set a mark upon her, for her infamy; that he had never heard of the laws by which they tried him; did they believe that if he had known the punishment to be death, he would ever have committed what they call crimes?"[8] But instead of proving that the women were generally condemned to a very ignoble state of existence, this statement of Verelst shows that the laws of the country were severe for those women, who committed any act of adultery or infidelity, in which cases the punishment could go even up to mutilation.[9] The man, when brought before the Calcutta Sessions, was really surprised to hear of a new kind of law, which did not allow him to inflict a heavy punishment on an adulterous and faithless wife. Of course, this sort of punishment by mutilation must have been very seldom inflicted, and was limited, more or less, among the lower classes of society. Even in these days of advanced civilisation such cases sometimes occur, when wives guilty of a serious breach of marital morality are subjected to heavy corporal punishments by their husbands, but that does not prove that in the present age the women are universally treated with cruelty and inhumanity.

The several dark female characters, which the poets of the age have drawn[10] were, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sen[11] representations of persons tainted more or less with foreign influences, and he has supported his statement by two quotations

[8] View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p. 25; Firminger's Introduction to the Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. lxxxvii.

[9] About this time a Brahmin of Santipur was accused before Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of illicit intercourse with a daughter of a shoemaker. The Raja excommunicated him from the society, and inspite of his appeal to the Nawab, the latter could not regain his former status.—Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, p. 417.

"In 1807 the 'Tapta mukti' or ordeal by hot clarified butter before 7,000 spectators on a young woman accused by her husband of adultery."—C. R., Vol. VII, p. 423.

[10] Hīrā in Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara; Vidu Brāhmaṇī in Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, and others.

[11] Baṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya, pp. 461-462.

from 'Laylāmajnu.' [12] But this is hardly a strong support for the learned Dr. Sen's theory,—it lacks positive and direct evidence in its favour. These might have been, more probably, representations of persons contaminated by the evil influences of the popular Sahajiyā cult,[13] or the practices of the degenerated Tantric worship.

There is, however, no doubt that "women were wholly subject to the will of their master." They were generally guided by the dictates of their husbands, and could not interfere in anything without their consent.[14] They were kept confined within the limits of their house and were not allowed to expose themselves publicly. Verelst writes, "the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice most certainly prevails, and is closely connected with the manner and religion of the people. The Hindu not less than the Mahomedan dreads the exposal of his women as the worst dishonour." [15] Appearance with bare face or head on the part of women was highly censured, and they were always expected to be modest and gentle in their habits and demeanour. Their husbands were all in all to them, and devoid of their husband's protection, there was no other place on earth where they could lead their lives honourably and happily, not even in their paternal home.[16] They could not even go to their father's house without the consent of their

[12] There was a Kuṭani in this town, the like of whom could not be found in this country.

[13] Rāmprasāda's Vidyasundara, pp. 27-28 (Basumati Edition).

[14] For a chaste woman her husband is the only support in this world; Bhāratacandra, Gopāla Uḍer Gāna, p. 229 (B. E.); "the life of a woman is not good, she is always dependent and has to bear the burden of others."—*Ibid*, p.'222.

[15] Verelst, "View of the Rise, Progress, etc.," p. 138. "How is it that in our society a young woman is not veiled." Rāmaprasāda's Padāvalī, p. 115 (B. E.); Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 240.

[16] "You would go to your father's house in the hope of having your mother's love, but your sister-in-law will always want to drive you away; the father does not make any enquiries, nor does the mother speak sweetly, if they find (their daughter) unfortunate in her marital relation." 'Jayār Upadeś,' in Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, p. 26 (B. E.).

husband. In the Bengali manuscript 'Bhavāṇīmaṅgala' by Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, the poet indirectly hints at this feature of the social life of the day. We find there that Girirāja expressed a great desire to take Gaurī to his house and said, "My daughter, do what you now think proper." At this Gaurī replied that she could not go without Śiva's consent; quite evidently, Śiva and Gaurī, Girirāja and Menakā, of Bengali religious poetry of 18th century, are reflections of the average son-in-law, daughter and parents-in-law of actual contemporary Bengali society.[17]

Sometimes, however, the women could rise above this state of dependence, and could take serious and prominent parts in politics and in the general administration of the estates and affairs entrusted to their care. Rani Bhavani,[18] whose name has become a by-word for charity and generosity, was the most prominent figure among this class of women. As a zemindar, she was very strong and assertive, and was known for her impartial administration of justice. Her attempts for the spread of education, her love for her country and skill in administration, her piety and affection for the poor, have made her name immortal among her countrymen. The temples that were built under her care and patronage, have elicited admiration from foreign travellers.[19] Tradition says that once Narendra Nārāyaṇa Rāya, the father of Bhāratacandra Rāya-guṇākara, used some abusive terms about Mahārāṇī Viṣṇukumārī, the mother of Mahārājā Kīrticandra of Burdwān, in connection with a dispute regarding a plot of land; highly incensed at this, the Mahārāṇī ordered two of her Rajput generals, named Ālamcandra and

[17] The manuscript "Bhavāṇī-Maṅgala" by Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, is one of the most valuable works of that age. It has been preserved with much care in the Ratan Library, at Suri, by Babu Sivaratan Mitra, who took great pains in restoring it.

[18] "Rani Bhavani is a heroine among the Bengalees."—H. Beveridge.

[19] "Baranagar is famous as the place where Rani Bhavani spent the last years of her life, and where she died. She built some remarkable temples here. In size or shape, they are ordinary enough, but two of them are richly ornamented with terra-cotta tiles, each containing a figure of Hindu gods very excellently modelled, and in perfect preservation."—H. Beveridge.

Kṣemacandra, either to kill the infant son of Narendra Rāya then and there, or to occupy Bhūrsut for her during that night. In obedience to her commands, the generals, with 10,000 ten thousand soldiers, occupied the fort of Bhavāṇīpura as well as the fort of Pero (the abode of Narendra Nārāyana). Next morning Viṣṇukumārī personally proceeded to the fort of Pero and, after showing proper respect to the women and the priests and making suitable arrangement for the worship of the local deity, returned to Burdwan.[20] We meet with a similar picture of a lady-zemindar elsewhere. Devi Sinha, a local zemindar in a part of Rungpur, had become so oppressive, that the other zemindars and the ryots, revolted against him. The leader of this revolt, as the poet-chronicler says, was a woman-zemindar of the name of Jayadurgā Chaudhurāṇī.[21] We meet with a few such characters amongst Muhammadan women also. "The exhortations of Doordaneh Begum, the wife of Murshidkuli, the governor of Orissa, to fight against Aly Verdy, as well as the appearance of the Begum of Aly Verdy with Aly Verdy on the battlefield, show that the Muhammadan ladies also took part in politics and state affairs, and that they had not all succumbed to the prevalent form of seclusion. Aly Verdy's Begum played the rôle of supreme political officer in Bengal whilst her husband fought the battles with the Mahrattas.[22] Thus in the world's broad field and "in the bivouac of life" the women of the age

[20] Introduction to Bhāratacandra's Works published by the New Victoria Press.

[21] D. C. Sen's 'Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature,' Part II, pp. 1413-1418. "The leader of this conspiracy was Jayadurgā Chaudhurāṇī, a woman of much intelligence and spirit....." —*Ibid.* We can compare with this the character of Devī Chaudhurāṇī, who took the leadership of a native revolt against the Company, in the days of Warren Hastings. Hastings had thought too lightly of her movements, but when her soldiers attacked the house of a rich merchant in Calcutta, Hastings was awakened to the seriousness of the rising and took proper measures for its suppression.—'Sahitya,' Jaiṣtha issue, 1305, B.S.

[22] Riyaz-us-salatin, p. 329, footnote 1; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 511. The Begum of Nawab Shujauddin took active part in the Government of her husband. It was she who proposed the name of Alivardi, for the deputy-governorship of Patna, in 1729 A.D, and herself invested him with a khelyat.—Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I.

could sometimes stand side by side with the men,—they were not only angels of service at home but were also active participators in the conflicts abroad.

Female education was also not unknown to the age. Vidyā, the heroine of Bhāratacandra's as well as Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara has been pictured as a woman possessed of a good education.[23] Her education, as it has been said, was so high as to enable her to proclaim that she would marry him only, who could overpower her in debates.[24] Ānandamayī, the niece of the poet Jayanārāyaṇa was a poetess of fair repute and composed Harilīlā in 1772 along with her uncle.[25] Thus we see plainly enough that the women of the age were not universally steeped in the darkness of ignorance; in the distant corners of the villages there flourished female poets and writers, who can claim to be regarded as worthy predecessors of their more educated sisters of the present day. Muhammadan women also were given some amount of education.[26] There flourished in Orissa, a few years later, a poetess

[23] "The high-minded Vīrasimha became deeply anxious in heart as to how he could find a suitable match for his daughter, who was the best of all in beauty, qualities, pedigree and behaviour, and especially who was always victorious in intellectual discussions"—Works of Rāmaprasāda Sena, p. 8 (B.E.).

[24] "She vowed that she would marry him only who would overpower her in argument and debate."—Works of Bhāratacandra, p. 63 (B.E.).

[25] "Ānandamayī was married at the age of nine to Ajodhyārāma Sena, the son of Kavibhūṣana Ruparāma, of the village of Payagrām, in 1761 A.D.

Ajodhyārāma was highly proficient in Sanskrit, but the fame of his wife's intellectual attainments had marred his repute. Harideva Tarkālaṅkāra, the son of the well-known Kṛṣnadeva Vidyāvāgīśa of Rājanagar, wrote out for Ānandamayī a treatise in Sanskrit on the workship of Śiva. As the work contained some mistakes here and there, she abused Vidyāvāgīśa Mahāśaya for his being negligent about his son's studies.

Rājavallabha wrote to Rāmagati Sena asking, for a proof of "Agnistoma" sacrifice and a diagram of the sacrifical altar, but as Rāmagati Sena was very busy then, these directions were written out by Ānandamayī by her own hand and were sent to Rājavallabha."—Translated from D. C. Sen's Vaṅgabhāṣa O Sāhitya, p. 508 (5th Edition).

[26] "This man who had been bred in the house of Seradjeddoulla's father and in that of Alyvardy Khan's consort; who had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin in whose education that unfortunate grandmother had taken pleasure."—Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 242.

of the name of Rani Nissanka Rai.[27] It is not certain if there were any special institutions or arrangements for the education of the girls or whether they received their education in the same institutions with the boys. Most probably, the education of the girls was more a matter of private than public concern, as the age required them to be "ministering angels" rather than fair statesmen or orators, though we have already seen that a few of them were concerned in matters of state as well. It was under tutors employed by their parents at home, that the girls received their education, which aimed chiefly at equipping them with the knowledge and materials necessary for an honest and happy domestic life in the world. Ward wrote in 1818 A.D. that, a few years ago, there lived at Benares a female philosopher named Hati Vidyālaṅkāra. "She was born in Bengal; her father and husband were Kulin Brahmins; ...the husband of Hati actually left her a widow. Her father also died; and she therefore fell into great distress. In these circumstances like many others who became disgusted with the world, she went to reside at Benares. Here she pursued learning afresh, and after acquiring some knowledge of the law books and other Shāstras, she began to instruct others, and obtained a number of pupils, so that she was universally known by the name of Hati Vidyālaṅkāra, *i.e.*, ornamented with learning."[28] The wife of Yasovanta Rāya, a Brahmin of Nasipur, understood Bengali accounts and and the wives of Raja Navakṛṣṇa were famed for being able to read.[29] Many female mendicants among the Vairaginis and Sannyasinis had some knowledge of Sanskrit and a still greater number were conversant with the popular poetry in the dialects of the country.[30]

Music was also cultivated by them.[31] They played on musical

[27] Majumdar's 'Typical Selections from Oriya Literature,' Vol. II, Introduction.
[28] History of the Hindoos, Vol. I, p. 699.
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] "After combing her hair and putting on a fine dress she engaged herself in witty

instruments and their songs were sung in tune with these.[32] At a marriage ceremony the women had to sing some auspicious songs in connection with several women's rites, and this required no doubt, practice and general cultivation of music to a certain standard.[33] The fact that Ānandamayī, who belonged to this age, could herself compose the opera "Umār Vivāha," adds further evidence of musical training amongst women. The musical instruments used at that time, were 'Rabāb,' 'Tānpurā,' 'Vīṇā' (lute), 'Morachanga' and 'Mandirā,' 'Kapīnās,' 'Svaptasvara' (a kind of lute) and 'Parivādini Vīṇā.'[34]

In family life, the mistress of the household occupied a very important position. A good and pious mistress served as a ministering angel to her family and a bad and impious one was an evil [illegible] settled on the fortunes of that family. A bad wife was looked upon as the cause of unhappiness to her husband.[35] An ideal ('uttamā') wife was one who was always solicitous of her husband's welfare, though the latter might commit something wrong; next to her ('madhyamā') in merit was she who returned good for good and evil for evil to her husband; but one who returned evil for good done by her husband was a bad wife ('adhamā'). A wife who became angry with her husband without rhyme or reason was nicknamed a 'Candī Nāyikā' (Lady Fury).[36]

jestings, and in singing songs with her companions."—Bhāratacandra's Rasamañjarī, Section on 'Vasarasajjā,' p. 167 (B.E.).

[32] "At Vidya's words her companions began singing songs and playing on musical instruments."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, p. 79 (B.E.).

[33] "Go and invite the women of the locality for celebrating the women's rites and for singing auspicious songs."—Umār Vivāha by Ānandamayī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1872.

"There was a sound of conch-shells bells, and lutes and the women were singing sweet songs."—Rāmāyaṇa by Dvija-Bhavānī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 583.

[34] (*a*). Jayanārāyaṇa Sena's Harilila, Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 155

(*b*). Bhāratacandra, p. 79 (B.E.).

[35] "He, whose wife is wicked, is dead even in his life-time; he should retire to the forest," Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgal, Section on 'Śiver bhikṣāy gamanodyoga,' p. 25 (B.E.).

[36] Bhāratacandra, 'Rasamanjarī,' p. 169 (B.E.).

The position of a wife in the Hindu joint family was interrelated with the interests and the comforts of the other members of the family. She had her duties not only to her husband but also to each and every member of her family; and a husband, who regarded his wife as an object of personal enjoyment and comfort only, was looked upon as violating the sacred ties of a joint family. In this connection we can very well compare the instructions that Vidyā, the heroine of Rāmaprasad's Vidyāsundara, received from her mother, when the former was going for the first time to her father-in-law's house :—" My darling! as it is a custom, so I speak a few words unto you. Try to be like unto the superiors of your family, and serve them to their satisfaction. She, who has kindness for her fellow-beings, becomes the mistress of the house." [87] It would be unwarrantable to suppose that the girls, after their marriage at a comparatively early age, were thrust amidst the severe duties of a practical life without any previous training or equipment. The innocent amusements and diversions of their early days, in the course of which they very often created a mimic world of their own, served to sow in their hearts the seeds of the higher duties of a household life. We find a very real picture of this 'play way' in the writings of a contemporary poet. " Princess Umā was in the company of her playmates of equal age, Yasodā, Rohiṇi, Citralekhā and others. Being pleased at heart, she had taken her seat in the midst of all and had made a temple of clay under the 'Bakula' tree. Along with Jayā and Haimavatī, who had prepared ovens with red earthen pots and red fuel, she was busy cooking nicely. After preparing rice of dust, Gaurī served it to all. They did not really eat anything and only touched their mouths with their hands. They finished washing their mouths without real water, and asked for betel. She prepared beds of Kadamba leaves, and they went to bed amidst great merriment, a pair of friends lying

[87] Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 49 (B.E.).

down in each bed..... Some of them swept the grounds and besmeared it with water and cowdung, as if it were the family of a householder." The last phrase of this passage is significant, and the accuracy of the description shows that this picture was really drawn from the family life of contemporary society.[38]

When a woman became pregnant a special ceremony was arranged for her on an auspicious day. She was dressed in new clothes and was presented with offerings of felicitation (Sādh-Bhet) amidst the rejoicings of the members of her family.[39] The women were very fond of betels and arecanut.[40] Women in the villages used to take their bath in the ponds, and were fond of going there in company, with water pitchers in their arms.[41] They were expert in the art of cooking and did not depend on servants or cooks for preparing meals for the members of their family.[42] While entering the kitchen, first of all, they worshipped or invoked the goddess Annapurṇā, and did not eat a particle of the food prepared by them before feeding all the

[38] Dharmamaṅgala by Sahadeva Cakravartī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 482.

There is no doubt that this was a traditional feature of Hindu family life, and we find a poet of the 10th century A.D, writing in the same vein :—

Wife—"I will go to your country, my husband, but ill will it fare with me, when I am in need of apparel."

Husband—"In my fair city a colony of weavers will I found for you."

Wife—"I will go with you, my husband, but who will be my brothers and sisters there."

Husband—"My brother and sisters will, my darling, be brothers and sisters unto you."—Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 171.

[39] "Give her Sādh-Bhet,—she has become pregnant."—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 22 (B.E.).

[40] (*a*) "With the mouth full of betel and arecanut, and with a necklace round the neck."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara.

(*b*) "Flies flit before her mouth devoid of the fragrance of betels"—Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, p. 54 (B.E.).

[41] "At that moment the women of the village came to take their bath along with their companions."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, pp. 66-67 (B.E.).

[42] (*a*) Bhāratacandra's Mānsiṁha, Chap. on "Randhan," pp. 132-133.

(*b*) Gaṅgānārayaṇa's Bhavānimaṅgala: "Some were engaged in cooking, some in boiling the milk, etc.."

members of their family or their guests. After dinner female members of two or three neighbouring families assembled together and spent some time in frank and gentle gossip, in reading religious books or books of stories and fables. Some of them engaged themselves in spinning yarn and twist by means of "Takus" or "Carkas" (*i.e.*, 'Taku,' which is the Vedic form), which they afterwards sold to the weavers. "Their income varied according to the quality and quantity of thread they would produce, and they were accordingly praised in the circle of women. This helped many of the indigent families in defraying their expenses. Though the higher middle classes regarded this (home industry) as humiliating to their rank, yet their womenfolk spun considerable amount of twist and yarn under the pretence of preparing their own cloths or sacred threads, and could amass a small sum of money by selling it through the agency of other women of lower social rank."[43] Thus it was in the cottages of the poor, needy and the infirm, that this spinning industry was more in vogue than in the comparatively thriving homesteads of the higher middle classes or the establishments of the rich.[44]

There were certain obnoxious customs prevalent among the women of the age. They believed in the efficiency (harmful or beneficial) of incantations and charms, and those who were disappointed in their love, or were in disfavour with their husbands, tried to exercise or establish their influence by means of these. In Bhāratacandra's "Mānasimha," we find, that when Bhavānanda Majumdar had returned home, his elder wife Candrāmukhī proceeded to safeguard her exclusive influence on her husband by wearing a charmed dress. Under the advice of her maid-servant Sādhī she had rubbed incanted oil on her face, had worn incanted flowers in her hair, and had painted

[43] Kṣitīśa-Vaṁśāvali-carita, p. 37.

[44] "That.....sleep influenced the eyes of the old woman Jayā, who was spinning thread in the late hours of the night."—Dharmamaṅgala by Narasiṁha Vasu; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 478.

vermillion on her forehead after uttering several magical charms.[45] It was women of the type of Sādhī and Mādhī, the two maid-servants of Bhavānanda Mazumdar's first and second wives respectively, who were adept in these practices and who exercised an infectious and pernicious influence among others also. Another evil, to which the wo nen were subject was their habit of telling or asking something readily on an oath, or of facile swearing. We find in Rāmaprasāda's Vidyā-sundara that when Vidyā was highly eager for Sundara, and was requesting her companions to bring back Hīrā Mālinī, whom she had just before insulted, her companions replied, "Why are you so anxious? Ask her on oath, and you will come to know everything."[46]

Another taint in the nature of the village women was their quarrelsome habit. They were prone to fall out with one another over any trifling matter, whenever they gathered together. This has been well hinted at by Bhāratacandra in his Annadāmaṅgala in the chapter on 'Kondal O Śivaninda.'[47] Especially on the occasion of ceremonies like marriage, 'new rice day,' and others, they became very fastidious and gave themselves up to capricious criticism or quarrelling about trifling things.

The practice of 'Satī' (that is, a wife burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband) was greatly prevalent during this period,[48] and it has been referred to by many of the

[45] Bhāratacandra's Mānasiṁha, p. 128 (B.E.).

Cf. "In connection with medicinal charms Mukunda says that a powerful medicine does not overpower the old."—Kavikaṅkaṇa Candī

[46] Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, 1. 12 (B.E.).

"There must be some cause of your coming here at dawn; please tell me the truth, upon my oath."—Rāmaprasada's Vidyāsundara, p. 22

We should note that men also were not exempted from this habit. "If the letter does not arrive here on the 3rd then I am undone; .. . please, upon my oath, send Majumdar's letter:"—Mitra's 'Types of Early Bengali Prose,' pp. 115-117; Nandakumāra Carita, pp. 32-38.

[47] Bhāratacandra's Granthāvalī, pp. 19-20, B.E.

[48] (*a*) "Rati was about to burn herself as a 'Sati' in the burning fire, when she heard a voice from heaven."—Bharatacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, p. 17, B.E.

(*b*) "I shall presently die with you by burning the pyre and entering into it."—Rāmaprasāda's 'Sītāvilāpa, p. 65, (B.E.)

contemporary European writers. Mr. Bolts says,—"Even those very women, who live sequestered from the world, and of course are inexperienced in such difficulties and misfortunes as serve to fortify the mind and heart, or such distress as will render life irksome or impel to desperation, often manifest such fortitude as amazes Europeans but to hear of, in the horrid deaths which they voluntarily brave, of burning alive with the dead bodies of their husbands in funeral fires."[49] In his "Sketches of the Hindoos,"[50] Craufard has given a thrilling description of the manner in which the women burnt themselves:—"A funeral pile being erected on a piece of ground that was consecrated to the purpose, the body of the Raja was brought from the fort, accompanied by many Brahmins and others and followed by the widow attended by relations of both sexes. Being arrived at the funeral pile, the body was placed on it, and certain ceremonies being performed, the widow took leave of her relations..... But she was perfectly composed, smiled and endeavoured to comfort them. She then advanced to the pile, and in a solemn manner walked round it. She stopped; and after contemplating the corpse, touched the feet with her hand and raised it to her forehead, inclining her body forwards. She then saluted the spectators in the same manner; and with the assistance of the Brahmans mounted the pile, and seated herself by the side of the corpse. Some who stood near her with torches in their hands set fire to it, and as it was composed of dry wood, straw and other combustible materials, it was instantly in a flame." The Brahmins and the priests took an important part in such 'Sati' sacrifices.[51] The courage and fortitude with which the widows, unperturbed in the least by the considerations of worldly enjoyments, offered themselves up in such

[49] Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.
[50] Sketch XII, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.
[51] Edmund Ives' Voyage, Chap. 2, p. 23.

ghastly sacrifices, were extraordinary.[52] These sacrifices, so shocking to humanity, however, demonstrated the strength of conjugal fidelity.[53] Scrafton remarks: "Another circumstance that contributes to form their general character, is their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for the custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning them; but I am well persuaded they often submit to it by a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection."[54] It is a mistake to suppose that in all cases women sacrificed themselves being forced by the conventions of the society and the expostulations of the priests and their relatives. "At five o' the clock in the morning of the 4th of February 1742-43, died Rhaam Chand Pandit, of the Maharatta tribe, aged twenty-eight years. His widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection, immediately declared to the Brahmins and witnesses present her resolution to burn. As the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of Cossimbazar[55] and her relations, left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it.[56] But she listened to none, and "her friends finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent." She had to wait till the Faujdar's permission for her burning had been received. Here it is important to note that the state had already adopted some measures to prevent forcible and involuntary cases of such sacrifices.[57]

[52] "Such is the influence of customs and the sense of shame that a woman of the highest birth.....will undergo this awful sacrifice with as much fortitude and composure as ever were exhibited by any hero or philosopher of antiquity."—Craufard, Vol. III, pp. 15-16; Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.

[53] "A woman desires to get her husband's body. It is proved by the fact that she burns herself with her dead husband."—Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, pp. 22, B.E.

[54] Reflections on the Government of Indostan, pp. 110-11.

[55] Thus some of the Mahratta families had by this time settled in Bengal.

[56] Craufard, Vol. II, Sketch XII, p. 19.

[57] "The order of leave for her burning did not arrive from Hasseyn Khan, Fouzdaar of Murshidabad, until after one, and it was then brought by one of the Soubah's own

There were, however, particular circumstances in which the practice of Sati was forbidden. The burning of a pregnant woman was not allowed by the Śāstras,[58] and when the husband died at a distance from his wife she could not burn herself, unless she could procure her husband's girdle and turban to be placed on the funeral pile.[59] Scrofton remarks that 'the practice (of Sati) was far from common, and was only complied with by those of illustrious families.''[60] Sometimes temples were erected on the spot where one of those sacrifices had been performed. Craufard says that he had seen one of those places, " where the spot on which the funeral pile had been erected was inclosed and covered with bamboos, formed into a kind of bower, planted with flowering creepers. The inside was set round with flowers, and at one end there was an image.''[61] Some Hindus, though few, buried the dead, and among them it was the duty of the widow to bury herself with the body of her dead husband.[62]

KALI KINKAR DATTA

officers who had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily."—Craufard, Sketch XII, Vol. II, p. 21.

58 " Nahe Śāstra sammatā susatvā sahamṛtā."—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 33 (B.E.).

59 Craufard, Sketch XII, p. 16.

60 Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.

61 Sketches of the Hindoos, Vol. II, Sketch XII, pp. 32-33.

62 *Ibid*, p. 37.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

Bishopthorpe, a typical Yorkshire village, derives beauty from its gardens, but for dignity and grace it looks to the Church and the palace of the Archbishop. Looking through the outer gate the palace is seen at the end of a straight beautiful drive, and as you walk towards it the artistic character of the surroundings becomes more and more vivid. The eye feasts on green lawns, streams of daffodils, beds of primroses, and sweet little flowers suffused with red or richly spotted with blue, yellow, or violet, and magnificent trees from Syria, Himalaya, Western Europe, and other parts of the world. At the foot of the residence the drive opens its arms, as if to embrace the sacred heritage of the past with its floral pageantry, and dips its limbs in the river Ouse flowing peacefully alongside. In one part of the grounds an ancient fish-pond may be seen with its overhanging trees and bushes. At the back of the palace there is a rock garden with a sun-dial in the centre.

The serenity of the atmosphere is enhanced by the placidity of the river, the best view of which is obtained at the place where the walk curves to meet it. Here looking through an avenue of trees the river appears as calm as a lake, not a ripple is to be seen, the sleeping shadows of the trees sleep on, and the glassy surface throws a perfect reflection of the blue sky and its few rolling clouds. A delicate fragrance hangs in the air. The quietness is broken, now and then, by the warbled song of a bird.

The Library room is large and well furnished. At its further end are shelves of books nicely bound in leather; the windows open on the greenery outside; a fire burns cheerfully in the gate.

The most interesting occupant of the room was at the time of our visit the Archbishop himself, who received us with a

charming smile and by his pleasantry at once put us at ease. We no longer felt that we were in the presence of a leading classical scholar and the highest ecclesiastic of Northern England; on the contrary we imagined that we were just having a chat with a gentleman of kindly manners and bright humour.

The deep insight that Dr. Temple showed in numerous subjects, his remarkably genial disposition, and his eagerness to know about the East and its affairs impressed us very much. And while he touched this topic and that and summed them up in short pithy sentences, his exuberance occasionally burst into peals of laughter suggestive of spontaneity and infectious too.

Dr. Temple deplored the present tendency of the East to copy evils rather than virtues of the West, its paraphernalia instead of its indwelling spirit, and gave an illustration of what he meant. A few years ago, said the Archbishop, a conference met at Jerusalem and some of the Delegates of the East pressed upon Professor Tawny their desire to have Western institutions in their countries. The Professor sympathised with the Delegates and attempted to direct their attention to the value of the individuality of each country, and of the spirit of co-operation as against extreme nationalism, and the desirability of excercising discrimination in adopting Western culture. But the Delegates were adamant. The Professor was so exasperated, continued the Archbishop, that at last he burst out ; " What I can't understand is why all you Asiatics should want to go to Hell the European way."

No one, who is conversant with conditions in the East, would altogether deny the truth of Dr. Temple's statement. The salvation of the East lies, not in slavish imitation, but in wise selection and creative effort. The wholsale and reckless adoption of Western dress, manner, and institutions must, on the one hand, strike a crushing blow at the root of Oriental culture and, on the other, bring in its train all the evils with which Western countries are afflicted.

His Grace was particularly interested in India. "I have been told," said the Archbishop, "that the behaviour of Englishmen towards Indians is different in India from what it is in this country." "The Englishmen change their attitude when they pass Port Said either way," I added. "Some of them," was the Archbishop's reply. It was evident that he did not favour this change of attitude. Dr. Temple had been closely following events in India and remarked upon its present disturbed state and on Lord Irwin's gesture of conciliation. When one of us said that Lord Irwin's policy, considering the debates in Parliament, seemed to be unpopular in this country, he replied: "Only that which Parliament does really matters."

Mahatma Gandhi was the next topic. The Archbishop had read C. F. Andrews' "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," and asked one or two questions: "I wonder what Mahatma Gandhi has in store for his country when he attains his objective?" asked the Archbishop. "He has so far given no constructive plan." Mahatma Gandhi, we replied, is a spiritual teacher rather than a statesman, his chief mission in life being not so much to give cut-and-dried schemes for the development of the country as to embody in his life and teachings the spirit of the East, to show the world at large what great possibilities lie in the doctrine of non-violence, and to voice the right of India to develop her culture along lines best suited to the genius of her people. As to who will give constructive plans, we added, it will not be Gandhi alone but Indian statesmen and experts aided by him.

His Grace then kindly offered to show us the palace. History now began to unfold before our eyes. We were told how the Chapel was originally built in 1241 and how some parts of it had to be restored later; how in the dining-room with its heavy long wooden table, some centuries old, Archbishop Scrope was ordered by Henry IV, to be executed; and how, in another room, he (Dr. Temple) liked the portrait of a gentleman, not because of its artistic accomplishment, but on account of the size and shape of the gentleman's hat; and so on.

Returning to the hall we signed our names in the visitors' books and after expressing our heartful thanks we took leave of His Grace, the palace of historical associations and memories, and the garden now looking gay under the mid-day sun.

B. L. SHARMA

RED LILIES

White lilies are too pale and cold ;
We see them most at funerals,
On tombs, or in a church.
And who has seen a red-lily
In the hand of an angel?
Red-lilies are blossoms of the sun,
The bloom of passion, stirred to life
By love and fairy music.
They are the joyous bacchantes
That mock their timid sisters,
With a vibrate that mixes
With the living world.
Red lilies are pagan blooms
Who wear their fortune in their face
Who turn their beauty to the sun
And give their fragrance to the wind,
Uncloistered and in love with life!

LILY STRICKLAND

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, ROSE AYLMER, AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH CALCUTTA [1]

This is how Crabbe Robinson who knew him while he lived at Florence in 1830, described the Boeotian Savage Landor :— "He was a man of florid complexion, with large full eyes, altogether a leonine man, and with a fierceness of tone well-suited to his name, his decisions being confident, and on all subjects, whether of taste or life, unqualified, each standing for itself, not caring whether it was in harmony with what had gone before, or would follow from the same oracular lips." Landor's laughter was pantomimic as also genial, and his very words were thunder and lightning, as his friend Southey said. And, if his wrath was Achillean, his humour was generally elephantine. This is the man who some years earlier than his death wrote the well-known lines so Greek in spirit as well as in form :—

I strove with none for none was worth my strife,
Nature I loved and next to Nature, Art,
I warmed both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks and I am ready to depart.

These four lines sum up as it were, the whole life-story of the great author of the '*Imaginary Conversations*. For, in spite of his ungovernable nature, and unsubduable temperament Landor

1 "The Statesman, Calcutta, publishes the following on 'Rose Aylmer Memory,' in its Sunday issue, of Dec. 15, 1929:—'It was largely owing to Mr. H. Beveridge, whose death has been recorded in the Statesman, that the monument over Rose Aylmer's grave in Calcutta, was discovered and saved from complete destruction. Writing in 1886, his friend, the late Brigade-Surgeon Bustead, owed his indebtedness to Mr. Beveridge for information that led, after an arduous and at first fruitless search, to the tomb being found in the Park Street Cemetery. The monument was falling into ruins, theIinscriptions scarcely legible. Public attention was called to the urgent need of measures to prevent further dilapidation. 'It may be worth mention,' says a Times' correspondent, 'that an autograph letter has lately been shown to me in which Landor referred to Rose Aylmer and her monument.' The present article on the memory of Miss Aylmer was written eight months previously."

was like a stormy mountain pine that could produce lilies. Leigh Hunt who came in contact with him near about 1820, said of him that "after indulging the partialities of his friendships and enmities and trampling on kings and ministers, he shall cool himself, like a Spartan worshipping a moon-beam, in the patient meekness of Lady Jane Grey." He liked much the companionship of children. His love for animals is well-known to readers of his works. Landor's favourite animal was a dog. His tender feeling for flowers has left its indelible trace on many of his poems. A story tells us that when one day, in a fit of anger, he had thrown his cook out of the window of his house in which he was living at Feisole, and immediately after he saw the cook again appear at the window, he exclaimed "Good God! I forgot the violets!"

The contrast between Landor's marriage and his views on marriage are well-known to readers of his biography. He wrote, "Death itself to the reflecting mind is less serious than marriage. Death is not even a blow, is not even a pulsation, it is a pause. But marriage enrolls the awful lot of numberless generations." The man who pronounced such a judgment on marriage, himself at the age of thirty-six came across a youthful lady at a ball at Bath. "By heavens!" he exclaimed, "that's the nicest girl in the room, and I'll marry her." After a few weeks he actually did marry that girl. This lady was however many years younger than himself—a not uncommon provincial beauty regarded by his biographers as not worthy to be the life-mate of Landor. With this lady he had many quarrels before their final disunion.

But this man, so unhappy with his wife, was nevertheless, very gentle towards women whom he regarded as a superior sort of beings—always very attractive. Lady Blessington praised his politeness in very loud terms: indeed, she considered him the most genuinely polite man in Europe. And here are the words of Mrs. Lynn Lynton after her first chance meeting with Landor past seventy years of age—"A noble-looking old

man, badly dressed in shabby snuff-coloured clothes, a dirty old blue necktie, unstarched cotton shirt—with a front more like a night-gown than a shirt—and knubby applepie boots. But underneath the old rusty hat-brim gleamed a pair of quiet and penetrating grey-blue eyes, the voice was sweet and masterly, the manner that of a man of rare distinction. I was taken by surprise. Here stood in the flesh one of my great spiritual masters, one of my most revered spiritual guides. I remember how the blood came into my face as I dashed up to him with both hands held out and said, "Mr. Landor! oh, is this Mr. Landor?" as if he had been a god suddenly revealed. And I remember the amused smile with which he took both my hands and said, "And who is this little girl, I wonder?"

While his university career was ending through quarrel and untameableness, Landor formed a series of tender friendships with girls of his own age. The earliest of these girl-friends was Ianthe—(Miss Sophia West, an Irish girl)—as Landor called her, who cherished a genuine affection for this ungovernable youth. Fifty years later, when Landor grew old, it was probably his greatest consolation to be able to live as a neighbour to the Countess de Molande as his beloved Ianthe had then become. Many of his finest lyrics are addressed to this girl, and Landor was glad that she cared for them. The following is one of Landor's best-known song-cameos dedicated to her memory (first published in '*Hsroic Idylls*,' the last of Landor's books) :—

> "Well I remember how you smiled
> To see me write your name upon
> The soft sea-sand—O what a child!
> You think you're writing upon stone!
> I have since written what no tide
> Shall ever wash away, what men
> Unborn shall read o'er ocean wide,
> And find Ianthe's name again!"

But the most remarkable and the best lines which Landor ever wrote, were written on another of his girl-friends—

Rose Aylmer—about whom we desire to write in the present article.

Not long after his Oxford career terminated, when about twenty years of age, in 1797 Landor was living a secluded life on the Welsh coast. It was there and then that he first met and entered into friendly relations with Lord Aylmer's family. One of the youngest ladies of the family, who became Landor's favourite for the rest of his life, was Miss Aylmer, at that time four years younger than himself. During their excursions along the sea-coast and in the midst of their other amusements, these two youthful friends were thrown much together. The sad and gentle allusions to her in some of his latterly composed poems are the outcome of the abiding impression which Rose Aylmer made on Landor.

In one of his little poems '*The Three Roses*' Landor thus sings of his young companion and her latter-born two sisters—

"When the buds began to burst
Long ago with Rose the first,
I was walking joyous then,
Far above all other men,
Till before us up there stood
Britonferry's oaken wood,
Whispering, 'happy as thou art,
Happiness and thou must part.''

And he probably composed the following beautiful epigram on his beloved girl during the early days of his friendship with her—

"I hardly know one flower that grows
On my small garden plot,
Perhaps I may have seen a Rose,
And said, Forget-me-not."

One of his sea-shore rambles with Rose Aylmer forms the subject of a poem 'Abertawy' (Celtic for Swansea) in which

Landor recalls how in his attempt to provide his tired-out girl-friend with a seat, he had to pluck up from a moss-grown bank some ' tiniest thorniest ' rose bushes :—

" At last I did it —eight or ten—
We both were snugly seated then,
But then she was a half-round bead
And cried—" Good gracious! how you bleed!"
Gently she wiped it off and bound
With timorous touch that dreadful wound.
To lift it from its nurse's knee
I feared and quite as much feared she,
For might it not increase the pain,
And make the wound burst out again?
She coaxed it to lie quite there,
With a low tune I bent to hear,
How close I bent I quite forget,
I only know I hear it yet."

It should be remembered as the most curious thing about this friendship that Landor's introduction to fame was indirectly or accidentally associated with Miss Aylmer. She happened to lend Landor a romance by Clara Reeve from the circulating library at Swansea. Landor came by a sketchy and so-called Arabian tale at the end of the book which instantly seized his imagination and inspired him to compose his first important poem '*Gebir,*' which appeared anonymously in the very year of the ' *Lyrical Ballads* ' of Wordsworth and Coleridge, in 1798. Thus we see that Rose Aylmer became indirectly instrumental to the composition of a work which was the delight of Southey and even of Shelley afterwards. Southey who reviewed the book wrote to one of his friends, "I would go a hundred miles to see the anonymous author " and to another he wrote, " There is a poem called ' *Gebir* ' written by God knows who, sold for a shilling : it has miraculous beauties."

One most interesting episode in the history of this friendship of Landor with Miss Aylmer is her coming to India and her

untimely death in Calcutta. This should interest readers of Landor who reside in India now and will reside ever afterwards. What brought Miss Aylmer to India has been told by H. E. Busteed in his very interesting 'Echoes from Old Calcutta'—a perusal of which prompted the present writer to write this article—so much indebted to his book for much hitherto unknown information. We read in it that "Lady Aylmer, the widow of Henry, the fourth Baron, married secondly Mr. Howell Price. Possibly it was in consequence of this marriage that her daughter Rose Aylmer went to Calcutta to her aunt, Lady Russel, wife of Sir Henry Russel, then one of the Puisne Judges, who was afterwards made Chief Justice, and eventually a Baronet. He and Lord Aylmer had married sisters, the daughters of Sir Charles Whitworth and sisters of the Earl of Whitworth." We also read that "An expression in one of the 'gravely tender lines' from the poem 'Abertawy' already referred to seems to indicate that Miss Aylmer's going to India was not her own choice :—

"Where is she now? Called far away,
By one she dared not disobey,
To those proud halls, for youth unfit,
Where princes stand and judges sit,
Where Ganges rolls his widest wave
She dropped her blossom in the grave,
Her noble name she never changed
Nor was her nobler heart estranged."

Miss Aylmer died in Calcutta on March 2, 1800. The following obituary notice appeared in the Calcutta Gazette in the first week of that month—"On Saturday last at the house of her uncle, Sir Henry Russel, in the bloom of youth and possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or embellish life, deplored by her relatives and regretted by a society of which she was the brightest ornament, died the Hon'ble Miss Aylmer."

When Landor heard the sad news, his thoughts, we are told, were, "for days and nights entirely possessed" by it. Prof.

Colvin in his valuable biography records that "during his vigils he wrote the first draft of the little elegy, carved as it were, in ivory or gem, which in its later form became famous. Here is that indefinably charming elegiac piece,—quite in the manner of the early Greek poets :—

> "Ah, what avails the sceptred race,
> Ah, what the form divine!
> What every virtue, every grace,
> Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
> Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
> May weep but never see,
> A night of memories and of sighs
> I consecrate to thee."—

Which owes to an after-thought of Landor, the addition of touching as well as beautiful effect by the two-fold iteration of the young girl's beautiful name. Prof. Colvin also records that "just, natural, simple severely and at the same time hauntingly melodious, are the lines which made afterwards so deep an impression upon Charles Lamb." Wrote Charles Lamb to Landor : "Many things I had to say to you which there are not time for. One why should I forget? 'Tis for Rose Aylmer, which has a charm which I cannot explain. I lived upon it for weeks." Wrote Crabbe Robinion : "I have just seen Charles and Mary Lamb living in absolute solitude at Enfield. I found your poems lying open before Lamb...He is ever uttering Rose Aylmer." All this testifies to the wonderful influence which these lines of Landor—first printed in Simonidea (1805), and then reprinted in "*Gebir, Count Julian and Other Poems*" (1831)—exert on the minds of all lovers of poetry. Among recent authorities, moved by this elegiac poem, the most remarkable is perhaps Prof. Saintsbury who wrote about it, "You may read Rose Aylmer for the hundredth time, with effect of that 'divine despair' which inspires and is inspired by only the greatest poetry." Mrs. Meynell was moved to say, "Never was a human name more exquisitely sung than in these perfect stanzas," and Mr. Forster

wrote, " Its deep and tender pathos could hardly be surpassed ; in delicacy and sweetness of expression it is perfect."

The South Park Cemetery, Calcutta, is adorned by a monument over a grave—on which is enshrined the following inscriptions 'on a black slab of marble.'—

" In Memory of
The Honourable
Rose Whitworth Aylmer,
Who departed this life, March 2nd,
A.D. 1800,
Aged 20 years.

" What was her fate? Long, long before her hour
Death called her tender soul by break of bliss,
From the first blossoms to the buds of Joy,
Those few our noxious fate unblasted leaves
In this inclement clime of human life."

This Calcutta tomb embalms the sacred friendship of a man who is one of the most outstanding figures in the history of English literature. To it Landor looked—across the seas—as he composed his best-known lines.

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

REVIVAL OF BRAH-MANISM AND BUDDHISM

Brahmanism's birth-land bore the classical name of Aryavarta. It is bounded on the West by the Indus with its tributaries, on the East similarly by the Ganges, on the South by the Vindhya chain and on the North by sub-Himalayan tracts. For modern convenience Aryavarta may be roughly taken as Hindustan proper and West Bengal. Interested attention is attracted by the declaration of the sage Jajnavalkya in King Janaka's Court at Mithila. Manu's description of Aryavarta is too well-known for citation. But to the sage Yajnavalkya, according to Brihadaranyaka Upanishat,[1] Aryavarta was as if the whole world.

"By the command of that Akshara. O Gargi, some rivers flow to the East from the white mountains others to the West or to any other quarter"—S.B.E.. Vol. XV.

A glance at a map of India will clearly show the reference to the tributaries of these fine rivers of Northern India, which bounded his native land.

In Aryavarta Parasuram first reduced human types into social castes and Brahmanic people were blest with no history so long as the system of caste lasted in pristine purity. But climatic and other physical changes, expansion of human intercourse through expansive geographical knowledge and other similar causes united against binding society to any theory however unchangeable in thought. Biology sheds some light on the question under consideration. Heredity is not the only factor in the formation of character. Twins of the same sex are known to develop differently in character. *Anti-caste* revolutions may not therefore be unreasonable to anticipate.

[1] एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि प्राच्याऽन्या नद्यः स्यन्दन्ते श्वेतेभ्यः पर्वतेभ्यः प्रतीच्योऽन्या यां याञ्च दिशमन्वेति।—३य अः। ८म ब्राह्मणं। ९ श्लोक

Besides India ancient Egypt and Peru had some form of caste system but all trace of it has been obliterated in both these countries. In India alone it survives in a recognisable form, however changed it may be from the original. The instability of the system of four castes is recognised by authoritative Brahmans. In Manu and the Mahabharat are laid down rules for earning law-given honest livelihood when the sceptre is not in Kshatriya hand. This is technically called 'आपद्धर्म,' literally meaning rule of conduct during danger. These considerations show the tradition concerning the revolution caused by the assassination of King Satatapa to be a historical probability if not a fact. In any case the Nanda Dynasty was of Sudra origin.

Buddha preached his rules of life about a century before the Nandas. He was concerned with two royal families. With the adoption of monasticism by Buddha's son Rahula his house became extinct. The other was represented by Bimbisara and his parricide son Ajatasatru. That the mixture of non-Aryan Lichchavi blood stained the purity of the Kshatriya descent of these two royal families is beyond doubt. The conclusion seems reasonable that in Buddha's time the system of four castes was not in its ideal form.

The worldly-minded Brahman who found favour with the Nanda Kings finally conspired against the last of that line and helped Chandra Gupta to ascend the throne.

The conspiracy ended, and Chandra Gupta ascended the throne. Chandra Gupta was the low-born son of a barber woman known by her caste-name Mura. His disregard of caste by marrying the daughter of the Greek King Seleucus must have been a source of disappointment to Brahman aspirants of royal favour. A spirit of regal toleration seems to have characterised the rule of Mura's descendants. As is well known, Chandra Gupta's grand-son Asoka published a rock-cut edict [1]

[1] Rock Edict III.

enjoining equal consideration for Buddhist monks then called "Sramans" and Brahmans. Absence of royal favour naturally led to importance of intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Brahmanic revival may therefore be not unreasonably placed in Maurya period.

The re-appearance of Vedantism in Gaudacharya (*cir.* 6th century A.D.) after its loss with the disappearance of Suka is in the nature of a resurrection. The interval between him and Suka is incalculable. The Bhagavata Purana mentions Suka as having visited Parikshit, the immediate successor of the Pandava brothers during his last days.

Light converges on the question by the tradition preserved by the school of Vedantic study following Sankaracharya. The daily study commences with a salutation [1] addressed to a succession of instructors in the science regarded as divine :

"The first and foremost is the supreme Revealer of truth. The next is Brahma, the archangel of creation then come Vasista, Sakti, his son Parasara, Vyasa, Suka, the great Gaudapada, the glorious Govindanath his disciple, then Sankaracharya his disciple. Salutations to former preceptors." An account, legendary or historical is preserved by the celebrated Madhavacharya .. which has some bearing on the chronology of spiritual descent of Vedantism. It is to be remembered that Madhava, after renunciation of worldly life. was initiated into Monasticism by Bharati Tirtha and took the name of Vidyaranya Swami and died as Mohunt or abbot of Sringeri Math. After having written the first six chapters of the well-known Vedantic Work 'Panchadasi' he departed this life, the remaining nine chapters were written by his preceptor Bharati Tirtha. Madhava's literary works are encyclopedic in character.

[1] नारायणं पद्मभवं वशिष्ठं
शक्तिञ्च तत्पुत्र पराशरञ्च
व्यासं शुकं गौड़पदं महान्तं
गोविन्द नाथ शङ्कराचार्य्य
नमो पूर्व्वं गुरुभ्यो

Among them is ' Sankaravijaya ' purporting to be a record of Sankara's theological victories. Madhava identifies Sankara's preceptor Govindanath with Patanjali who flourished in the Sunga period (*cir.* 2nd century A.D.) According to him Patanjali assumed the name Govindanath and was initiated into Vedantic culture by Gaudacharya. He retired into a cave on the banks of the Narbada and remained in spiritual trance for an age until roused by Sankara whom he instructed and then expired. This legend is hardly capable of historical rationalisation. Most probably it had its origin at a time when monastic claim on public support could only be based on monastic possession of super-natural powers, which is not quite extinct even at the present day. It is not necessary to deny the possibility of the acquisition of uncommon powers by individuals but the case of a class is quite different. It may be assumed that Govindanath had Patanjali as an *alias* which led to his identification with the author of " Mahabhasya " and Yoga Sutram who bore the same name.

This digression apart, for the present purpose it is only necessary to note the discontinuity of Vedantic culture among Brahmans. A related incident is recorded by Ram Mohan Roy. His opponents denied the existence of the Brahma Sutram in Bengal and he had to refer to the presence of a copy or few copies with some learned Brahmans and some public institutions in Bengal.

Record of the state of Brahman learning was investigated by Buddha after his Great Renunciation. The related information is so easily accessible as to render further consideration of the subject wholly superfluous in the present connection.

It seems clear that the changes in priestly character, manners and customs and general conditions cannot be accurately ascertained. Interrupted movements may reasonably be accepted as historical occurrences in Aryavarta. Conditions may therefore be taken as reasonably to be based on the application of collective psychology on available evidence.

An expectation of worldly benefits disappears in the absence of royal favour. Intellectual, moral, social and spiritual culture are then the only means of attaining and preserving higher or spiritual life. It is to be noted in passing that the ten great sins (mahāpāpas) are the same in Manu as in Buddhist theology.

Those gifted with faith in super-rational Reality, when unpersecuted, are generally unrecognised. The inseparable companion of that faith is selfless devotion to the temporal and spiritual well-being of all. This characteristic of those of true faith sometimes tends to conflict with vested interests germinating persecution. Otherwise their lives are comparable to the trackless movements of deep-water fish. Faith, when observed by the intellect often takes the form of philosophy breeding intellectual pride. Viewed by untrained emotion faith becomes the working machinery for securing worldly advancement or gives birth to miracle-shaped allegories and external ceremonials, not so extensive and ostentatious as under royal favour. These in most cases are children rebelling against their mother faith.

From the Maurya kings' equal regard for Brahmans and Sramans sprang up between them friendly association. The bond of fellowship thus created gained in strength during the two centuries of Maurya ascendency. With the Brahman kings, known as Sunga who overthrew the Mauryas the position changed. It introduced the persecution of Buddhists for the first time in India. To the credit of the people of Aryavarta it is to be noted that public opinion symbolised as a roaring lion frustrated the attempted persecution of Buddhists near Vaisali and was transferred to upper Punjab.

It is to be noted that the persecution of Buddhists originated with kings of the Brahman caste but outside Aryavarta. The Sungas were overthrown by another Brahmanic dynasty, that of the Kanva. But their short existence of scarcely half a century does not seem to have left any recognisable mark on the social or religious life of the people. The Andhras then came

into power and brought Ujjayini into prominence as the clearing house for trade and religion.

The Andhra dynasty were absentee Kings of Aryavarta. Their influence, if any, is outside present consideration.

The Brahmanic and Buddhist religions stream in confluence during the Gupta period. Flowing down in time the united waters attained the greatest depth and expanse under the Gupta Kings more specially under Samudragupta. No great obstacle appears to have been met with so long as the sceptre was held by Harsabardhan, although his brother Prabhakarabardhan was killed by Sasanka, the King of Goura professing Brahmanic religion who is usually charged with anti-Buddhist tendencies.

Buddha and his associates are known to have preached mostly to the common people and in Magadhi Pali, their literary tongue whatever the vernacular might have been. But in the Court of the Kushana King Kanishka (1st century A.D.) the Buddhist monk Buddhaghosa wrote his splendid "Buddha Charit" in Sanskrit.

Scholars have traced the origin of some of the metres clothing Kalidas's poetry to this life of Buddha. It is interesting to note Kalidas's pun on the man of the greatest Buddhist Logician "Dignaga" in "Meghaduta." To the equal treatment of Brahmans and Buddhists by the Maurya kings may be reasonably attributed the creation of an intellectual interest amongst the learned, independent of religious beliefs, the names of Sanskrita.

The sisterly flow of the streams of Brahmanism and Buddhism ended with the life of King Harsa Deva in 647 A.D. and all traces of Buddhism disappeared from her mother land to be discovered by scholars from abroad.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LAYTON REPORT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BENGAL'S FINANCE.

I

It can hardly be denied that much of the political trouble that immediately followed the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and which brought about the collapse of the new constitution in the Province of Bengal was directly due to the unsatisfactory financial arrangements. There was other causes no doubt—powerful political causes—to which must be apportioned the major share of responsibility for the collapse of the new constitution. For the existence of a large number of irreconcilables, and a widespread movement of these irreconcilables, to destroy Dyarchy, must have its inevitable effects in the new constitutional machinery. But at the same time it is an unchallengeable truth that the unsatisfactory financial arrangement greatly swelled the ranks of those irreconcilables. For, it became perfectly clear as days went on that with the existing financial resources it was absolutely impossible for any minister—however popular and well intentioned he may be—to launch any ambitious scheme of "nation building," which will bring about any appreciable improvement in the condition of the masses within an appreciable length of time. The unsatisfactory financial arrangement then, was itself a cause of intensifying the political discontent, which throughout the last decade, proved so fatal to the working of the new constitution. The first desideratum for the smooth working of a constitution in such a big country like India, divided into a number of provinces, with a central Government at its head, is a fair and equitable financial arrangement, between the provinces on the one hand and the central Government on the other. Such an arrangement is all the more necessary because the Indian constitution if it is to function

satisfactorily must be federal in character—leaving as much of independence to the provinces, as possible, by retaining for the central Government, those functions only which it cannot do without. But the difficulty of the problem lies in this that any scheme of financial clean-cut, which at first sight seems to be the only way of securing fiscal autonomy for the provinces, is inseparably connected with so many difficulties, that the scheme is recognised to be neither desirable nor possible. It is inevitable then that some sources of revenue must be shared between the central government on the one hand and the various provinces on the other. But at the same time it must be recognised that such an arrangement, though inevitable, must be so modelled, that the central Government must on no account be permitted to tamper with the fiscal autonomy of the provinces. It is further necessary that the provinces, on which has devolved the great responsibility of raising the standard of living of the masses, by educating the ignorants, by improving their health, and last but not least, by raising their income, should be allowed a number of very elastic sources of revenue. The object of the present paper is to analyse critically the new scheme as adumbrated by Mr. Layton, and to consider whether its recommendations are in any way adequate to tackle the complex problem as stated before. But before considering Mr. Layton's Report, it is necessary to understand the existing financial arrangement, which itself is a product of History. In the next section therefore I will attempt a short historical survey of the various financial arrangements from 1833 down to the present time.

II

Since 1833 Public Finance was wholly centralised in the hands of the Government of India. According to the new constitutional arrangement of 1861, this central control was in no way relaxed. The central Government exercised sole control over entire Indian revenues and were alone liable for all the demands

that could be made on it. In distributing these revenues to the various provincial governments, the central Government was naturally greatly handicapped by their want of knowledge of local conditions and needs. Thus handicapped the central Government could not possibly distribute the revenues to the various provinces, according to their respective administrative requirements. Provincial expenditure, accordingly, was determined not by the resources or requirement, but the attention the respective provincial governments succeeded in securing from the centre. "The distribution of public income at that time" has been well characterised by Sir John Strachey "as degenerating into something like a scramble in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little of reason."

It was inevitable that such a system would encourage extravagance in the provinces and Lord Mayo realised that the best way of checking it was to make the provinces responsible for their own finance. This financial responsibility, Lord Mayo thought to impose on the provinces by his famous decentralisation scheme of 1871. According to this scheme the Provincial Governments were charged with the responsibility of meeting from a permanently fixed grant, the expenses of certain definite services, *e.g.*, Police, Jail, Education and Medical services. The increase in this expenditure was to be met by the imposition of certain local taxes. Provinces were given greater financial powers and were empowered to create appointments up to the individual limit of Rs. 250 per month.

But the chief defect of Mayo's decentralisation scheme was that no attempt was made to correct the already existing inequalities between the respective provinces, for in determining the amount of fixed grants that were given to the provinces for meeting the expenditure of the aforesaid specified services, Mayo's scheme adopted the existing or old arrangements as the basis of the new. It is important for us to note that Mayo's decentralisation scheme instead of correcting the existing inequalities, tended to perpetuate them.

This scheme succeeded in the sense that the provinces were compelled to economise in administering those services, the financial responsibility of which were transferred to them. For the extra cost, if any, would have to be raised by themselves by means of some local taxes. So in 1877 this scheme was further extended and other heads of expenditure were transferred to the provinces. Thus financial control of Services connected with general administration, Land revenue, Excise, Stamp and Law and Justice was assigned to the provinces. Again in order that the provinces may be encouraged to increase the revenues collected in their respective territories, Stamp, Law and Justice, Excise and Licence duty—these four heads of revenues were assigned to the provinces. But the revenue thus assigned was recognised to be inadequate for provincial purposes and hence this was supplemented by the old method of "fixed grants."

In 1882, the system of fixed grants was abolished and it was in this year that the system of Divided heads was introduced. Heads of revenue were henceforth divided into—Imperial, Provincial and Divided.

This settlement was quinquenninal and was revised in 1887, 1892 and 1897. It is obvious that the central Government due to its pre-eminent position would make these revisions to its advantage. If at the time of revision any of the provincial governments had any surplus, the central Government was sure to absorb it. So at the closing of every quinquennial settlement the provinces were tempted to extravagance and show a deficit budget, and it cannot be otherwise for the system of absorbing every provincial surplus meant in effect that economy was to be penalised and extravagance encouraged. It should be noted that under this scheme the inequalities of 1871 were further increased.

These defects were soon recognised and were sought to be remedied by placing the financial relations on semi-permanent basis. The provinces were permitted to reap the benefit of their own economy; provincial surpluses were no longer absorbed by the centre and the provincial share of public

income was fixed definitely. The revenues thus assigned to the provinces were only just sufficient to meet their normal expenditure. This was supplemented by annual grants for special purposes contemptuously characterised by the receiving province as 'doles.' But be it noted that previous inequalities were permitted to remain as they were, and no attempt was made even then to correct them. The central Government kept close control over provincial revenues, and provincial budgets, before being presented at the provincial legislatures were to be approved by the central Government.

The Commission of 1907 appointed to adjust financial relations between the centre and the provinces suggested certain reforms, but decided against any fundamental departure from the existing order. They recommended that greater financial powers, more sources of revenue and greater power over the budget must be given to the provinces; and these recommendations were accepted in 1912 and the provinces were given much greater financial latitude; but what is material for us to note is that the main feature of the settlement of 1904, with all its accumulated inequalities, made permanent in 1912 remained practically unchanged till 1921.

III

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report constitutes one of the most important landmark in the history of financial decentralisation in India. It proposed to sweep away the centralised system of administration that existed hitherto and with the object of creating a sense of provincial autonomy proposed to give the provinces a constitutional control over certain resources, which the provinces will be free to increase or decrease. The joint authors realised that if the principle of responsible government was to have fair play in the provinces, the old order must be changed root and branch. According to the old system, certain heads of revenues are shared by the central Government and the provinces—the central Government first keeping to itself its

own requirements and then distributing the surplus among the provinces, according to the principle of estimated needs. This arrangement necessarily involved some amount of control and interference by the central Government in provincial matters. The provincial government, even though it was in every sense a subordinate government, resented this interference, and it was recognised that there would be conflict and deadlock if the central bureaucratic government sought to control and interfere with the provincial governments which to a certain extent and in certain matters would become democratic. In order therefore that self-government may thrive in the provinces the joint authors felt that this system of "divided heads" must be abolished, and provinces must be given absolutely distinct sources of revenue. They took the main items of revenue one by one and considered whether it was more appropriate to regard its proceeds as a central or as a provincial receipt—while all the time keeping their eyes steadfastly on considerations of practical administration. Thus according to their scheme, Customs, non-alcoholicExcise including Salt, general Stamp, Income Tax, and Receipt from Railways, and Post and Telegraph, should be assigned to the central Government. Land Revenue, Irrigation, alcoholic Excise, Forest, Court-fee stamp, Registration fees and certain minor sources of revenues were assigned to the provinces.

It was estimated however that under the new scheme there would be a deficit in the central budget and as a transitional measure the authors reconded that this all-India deficit should be met by provincial contribution. Each province should contribute 87 per cent. of the difference between the gross provincial revenue and gross provincial expenditure (*i.e.*, gross provincial surplus).

It is obvious therefore that the joint authors were drifting distinctly to some sort of federal finance according to which the central Government will be in charge of certain heads of revenue and the provincial government in others, while it would be constitutionally provided that each would be supreme in its

own sphere. They conceived that the system of divided heads was the greatest impediment to provincial autonomy and as such boldly recommended its abolition.

The question of financial adjustment was referred to the Meston Committee. The Committee was asked to suggest any modification to be made in the provincial contribution for the present and thereafter; with a view to their equitable distribution until there ceased to be an all-India deficit. They suggested that it would be better to take increased spending power as the basis instead of a percentage of the gross provincial surplus, as recommended in the joint Report.

As regards standard contribution they rejected the system of flat rate and recommended that the ideal basis would be the capacity of each province to contribute to the central exchequer ; and in fixing this scale of payment they took into account various factors such as agricultural and industrial wealth, liability to famine capacity and need of each province for expansion and development, elasticity of the existing heads of revenue, development of mineral wealth, forest, etc. The interval of time in which the standard contribution should be reached they fixed to be seven years—the process of transition should be continuous, beginning in the second year and proceeding in six equal annual steps.

The Jt. Parliamentary Committee, while accepting the main recommendations, suggested—

(1) that instead of making the receipt from income-tax wholly imperial, provinces should be given some share in the growth of revenue under that head ;

(2) that in no case the initial contributions of the provinces should be increased, but a gradual reduction should be aimed at; and

(3) that the provincial contributions should cease at the earliest possible moment.

It should be noted in this connection that the question of remedying the already accumulated inequalities between the various provinces, was once again raised before the Meston

Committee; but true to the traditions laid down by other previous committees, the matter was shelved as being for the present impracticable and, as we will find in the next section, the new scheme itself favoured sóme provinces at the expense of others.

IV

The reforms have been working in India for nearly a decade. The anticipations on which the Meston Committee based its calculations proved indeed too wide in the mark. Instead of having surpluses—a portion of which according to the Meston Scheme was to be absorbed by the centre—each of the provinces in the first three years of the Reforms have had large deficits. They had to take recourse to additional taxation in order to carry on the humdrum functions of Government. And indeed this single fact of additional taxation with the advent of the new system, which brought no corresponding increase in any of the nation-building services, thoroughly discredited the reforms in the eye of the classes and the masses. Nor are we to believe the centre to be comparatively well-off. The Meston Committee calculated the exchange rate at 2*s*. a rupee, whereas the actual exchange rate refused to abide by the ruling of Babington Smith Committee, and came down to nearly 1*s*. 4*d*. The Military expenditure they fixed at 42 crores but it rose to 67 crores, though the figure is steadily decreasing till it is 55 crores to-day.

Railways which were expected to contribute from 8 to 10 crores annually to the Central Exchequer did not pay even their working expenses and interest charges. The situation however showed signs of improvement, and from the year 1927-28, the provincial contributions have completely ceased.

But the problem from the viewpoint of the provinces has another and a much graver aspect. And in considering the question from this standpoint we are led to consider the chief and fundamental defects of the Meston scheme. The criticisms

have been well summarised by Mr. Layton in the following words :—

Firstly, although the provinces were entrusted with departments that had rapidly expanding needs, the resources assigned to them were insufficient and inelastic; whereas the central sources of revenue which have to meet comparatively stationary needs are expanding and capable of a good deal of expansion.

The main items of central expenditure are Army, General administration and Debt services—and in the absence of any abnormal development there is no reason why the total central expenditure under these heads should not be stationary or falling. If we however look to the revenue side of the central budget we will find that all the substantial and elastic sources of revenue are retained in the hands of the Central Government. Thus Customs, which contributed nearly Rs. 34·4 crores in 1921-22 and nearly Rs. 50 crores, in 1929-30, Income Tax which is contributing from 17 to 18 crores, Railways, Salt and Opium—all these substantial and at the same time highly elastic sources of revenue are assigned to the centre, which we have already seen has limited and stationary needs.

If we look now to the income and expenditure side of the provincial budgets, we will realise the absurdity of the situation. The chief items of provincial expenditure are Education, Medical relief and Public Health, Land Revenue and General administration, Law and order and Civil work. It will be recognised from a perusal of the list that the chief nation-building departments are in charge of the provinces and it is hardly open to question that expenditure on functions falling within its sphere could very well be increased, without extravagance and to the great economic advantage of India. It is beyond question that a healthy and educated man is a much better agent of production than an unhealthy idiot and any expenditure by the state for improving the health and education of the people is profitably expended, even if we look at the question from the strictly economic standpoint. Moreover no civilised government can afford to have a

large multitude of illiterate citizens and possibly look with equanimity on hundreds and thousands of its citizens dying from preventible diseases. These elementary obligations of a civilized government, the provincial governments cannot be expected to shirk on the plea of cost. Whatever the cost ignorance must be banished and the Government must wage a relentless war against malaria and such other preventible diseases.

If we now look to the question of ways and means we will realise how seriously handicapped were the ministers, who were in charge of those nation-building departments. Indeed it was pitiable to behold the popular ministers being pilloried on the floor of the legislature by the people's representatives tragically complaining that not merely they had no resources, but no means of increasing in any way, under the existing system. And indeed if we look to the chief sources of provincial revenue we will recognise the justice of their complaint. The sheet anchor of provincial finance is Land Revenue, Alcoholic Excise and Stamp. Excepting stamp, the future of the other two is highly problematic. In permanently settled tracts, the share of the state in the land revenue of the country is rigidly fixed and even in temporary settled tracts the present tendency is towards increasing the period of assessment, and lowering the proportion of the net produce that the state should absorb. In any case therefore land revenue is an inelastic source of revenue. As regards excise public opinion is definitely against the Government trading in people's vice and increasing its income. Stamp no doubt is somewhat elastic—but even then it cannot be expected to give the necessary elasticity to the provincial finance.

The second defect of the Meston Settlement lies in the fact that it has treated provinces unequally by giving some of them a much greater proportionate increase of revenue than others.

The figures given on page 233 of the second volume of the Simon Report is greatly instructive. It brings into bold relief the injustice done to some provinces as compared with others,

as also the accumulated inequalities of years of financial experimentations.

Total provincial expenditure per capita varied from Rs. 1·8 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 2·5 in Bengal to Rs 8·2 in Bombay.

Expenditure on General administration and Land Revenue per head varied from Rs. 3 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 4 in Bengal to Rs. 1·52 in Bombay.

Educational expenditure ranges from Rs. ·262 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 285 in Bengal to Rs. 1·057 in Bombay. Sanitation and medical service ranges from Rs. ·153 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. ·210 in Bengal to Rs. ·472 in Bombay. Bengal with its notoriously unhealthy condition cannot then afford to spend more than ·210, *i.e.*, less than half of what Bombay spends under the same head.

It is no doubt difficult, as Mr. Layton truly observes in his report, to set up even in theory an objective standard of fairness. It costs more to run a province with scattered population than one which is densely populated ; more teachers and policemen must be maintained per head of population. The cost of road and medical and stationary services must be higher per head. Cost of living also is another factor. Physical facts also may determine the need for health or sanitary services, while it is obvious that a province with a substantial urban population or a capital city may require a large police force per head, than a mere rural province. We cannot therefore expect to find anything like equality in the various provincial expenditures. But the disparity is indeed so great that it is impossible to believe that it can be entirely accounted for by the aforesaid considerations.

The inequality of treatment above disclosed is no doubt mainly a product of history : it represents accumulated inequalities of years of financial experimentations. But the point that is essential for us to emphasise is that the Meston Settlement not only did nothing to correct but rather tended to accentuate those inequalities. Land Revenue for instance, became a source of

provincial revenue. But the yield from this head varied from province to province due to the fact that in some provinces, lands are permanently settled and in others land revenues are periodically assessed. Thus different yield of particular kinds of revenue in different parts of India, their unequal growth in recent years and the abolition of provincial contribution (which attempted to a certain extent to set off the existing inequalities)—all these combined to accentuate the inequalities under the Reforms. A comparison of the comparative increase in expenditure of the two nation-building services in 1929-30 as compared with 1922-23 in the respective provinces will speak for itself :—

Percentage increase between 1922-23 and 1929-30.

	Education.	Medical Relief and Public Health.
Madras	82	115
Punjab	78	94
United Provinces... ...	47	67
Bombay	23	43
Bengal	21	24

The third defect of the Meston Settlement is that it has given practically no power to the provinces to tax industrial activities, and has therefore seriously handicapped the industrial provinces as contrasted with agricultural ones. Thus under the Meston Settlement, the income of such a leading industrial province as Bengal is less than Madras, Punjab, and United Provinces. Comment is superfluous.

(To be continued)

PRAKASH CHANDRA MALLIK

THE STIRRUP-CUP

Ho! bring me a stirrup-cup, fair maid,
Ere I ride upon my way—
The long, long way of the open road,
There is no one to say me nay.
My only mate is my good, true sword,
We are free as the wind in the sky—
We laugh at death and the world defy—
My stallion, my sword and I!

I blow the foam from my stirrup-cup,
And laugh in the Sun's bright face;
He's starting out with his horses twain,
And daring me to a race!
Give me a kiss from thy lips I pray,
Sweet stirrup-maid, ere I take the road,
You've a wealth of hair and can afford
One tress to my good, broad sword!

Ho! the wine is sweet, my bonny maid,—
But thy lips are sweeter far;
I only kiss as I ride away,
For no maid my life shall mar.
The road is holding its arms out wide
We are free as the wind in the sky,
We laugh at death and the world defy,
My stallion, my sword and I!

The Sun drinks his stirrup-cup of dew,
And kisses the lips of Dawn.
We laugh, ho! ho! for the joy of life
Is poured forth anew each morn.
Ready for all things, for peace or strife,
We are ready to do or to die;
We laugh at Fate and the world defy,
My stallion, my sword and I!

TERESA STRICKLAND

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Madras

In Madras the high price fixed on repeated representations from the Board of Revenue was accompanied with decreased consumption, though the revenue had, on the whole, slightly increased. Nevertheless the price was still further raised in 1844 to Rs. 180 per garce. In that year the transit and inland customs duties of the province had been abolished. Hence the enhancement of the salt tax to recoup a part of the financial loss.

The Local Government had remonstrated against it and emphasised the inexpediency of a price higher than Rs. 127 and a half. But the Supreme Government totally disregarded the view and its determination to increase the sale price " appears to have been formed rather with reference to the much larger comparative amount realised in Bengal from that source of revenue than from any considerations arising out of the particular circumstances of the Presidency of Madras." [1] The Court of Directors immediately intervened. They had from their own independent analysis of statistical data reached the same conclusion as the Madras Government that any large advance in the existing price was highly improper. The price was accordingly brought down to Rs. 120 per garce or Re. 1 per maund.

At the same time the Regulation of 1818 concerning import of salt from foreign lands was rescinded. The legal bar to importation by land was for the first time removed. But the policy of exclusion was not relaxed in the least. The import duty on all salt, whether imported by land or by sea, was fixed at the prohibitive rate of Rs. 360 per garce or Rs. 3 per maund.[2] It

[1] Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, No. 9, dated the 3rd July, 1844.

[2] Act VI of 1844.

was in 1849 that the duty on salt brought by land from Goa into Canara was reduced from Rs. 3 to As. 12 per maund (supposed average net profit of the monopoly) in order to give relief to the place. Exception was also made in the case of salt imported from Arabia into Malabar and Canara where the duty was similarly reduced to Rs. 90 per garce.[1] It may also be noticed in this connection that a protective tariff on salt imported into the province had no significance except in regard to the Malabar coast. For, so far as the Coromandal coast was concerned, any import of foreign salt was out of the question.

In 1847 the Court of Directors reiterated the view they previously expressed that the tax on salt was too high for the province. They desired the Board of Revenue to supply a general report bearing on salt tax. Agreeably to this, the Board of Revenue began the enquiry and addressed the Collectors on the subject. The sentiments of the Collectors were generally expressed in favour of price reduction. The report was finally submitted towards the middle of 1850.

The Board discerned a nexus of causality between high price and small sales throughout the whole history of salt tax in the province. In more recent years (1847-48) the sales had no doubt increased in spite of enhanced price. But it was the consequence of improved means of communication and more efficient management. Secondly, it was observed that the increase of monopoly price had not as a general rule affected the retail prices to the full extent so that the incidence of the increased tax had been partly upon the traders. In the third place the Board found that the *per capita* consumption of salt in the province fell short of what it considered to be a fair average (*viz.*, 18 lbs). And the expenditure on salt for culinary purposes, on the basis of the above average and at the Government price, represented a month's earnings of a normal family. So the price, with costs of transport and traders' profits added to it,

[1] *Vide* First Report of the Select Committee, 1852-53, Appendix No. I, No. 6.

became too high for many households living away from the coast. The Board generally concluded that any reduction of price was unnecessary in the interest of revenue and that it was yet premature to give any decisive opinion as to whether such action was called for on account of hardship to consumers or prevalence of smuggling.

The Government, though divided in opinion, found themselves, on the whole, in substantial agreement with the views expressed in the report. The Court of Directors concurred in them. The monopoly price was not therefore reduced.

The commercial policy of India being regulated in sympathy with that of the United Kingdom, India's customs regulations were recast on the principle of free trade after the triumph of the doctrine in England during the forties of the 19th century.[1] So far as the salt trade went. Bombay and Bengal were already free trade but in Madras the principle was yet to be applied. In 1851 the Court of Directors addressed a despatch and desired the free trade principle to be extended to trade in salt at Madras so that it might be placed, "as far as possible on the same footing as in the other Presidencies."

Agreeably to the above, the Madras Government recommended an import duty of 12 annas per maund (which was supposed to represent the average net profit accruing on monopoly sales) in order to admit foreign salt on terms of equality. But the privilege was proposed to be limited to the case of European salt throughout the Presidency and to salt from Goa and Arabia in the districts of Malabar and Canara. The avowed object of the suggested limitation was to exclude Bombay and Ceylon salt from the Madras market. In the case of the former the reason assigned was the inferiority of the imported article and in the case of the second increased chances of smuggling. It also became a moot point at the time if it were not more desirable to replace the monopoly of Canara by a suitable system of excise,

[1] See N. J. Shah's History of Indian Tariffs, Chapter III, p. 82.

observing that the measure might be rendered necessary to prevent the supersession of the home manufactures. But the proposal did not take any definite shape.

The Government of India regarded discrimination as inconsonant with the principle enunciated in the despatch and the argument urged by the Madras Government as unconvincing. The proposal of the Local Government was therefore referred back for further consideration. A general import duty of 12 annas per maund on all foreign salt was then agreed upon. The necessary measure was accordingly passed in 1853. Thus it was only towards the close of the Company's rule that foreign salt was admitted to equal competition with the home produced article in the Madras Presidency. The above change had an important consequence. The increased importation of cheaper foreign salt appreciably lightened the burden of salt tax upon people on the Malabar coast.

Shortly after the Madras Government changed its front and proposed the levy of an additional differential duty on all Goa salt imported by sea. The object was to equalise the price (and not the tax) on the two kinds of salt, imported and domestic, with a view to safeguarding the Government's own sales in Canara. The proposal was negatived by the Indian Gorernment as contradictory to the strict free trade principle already adopted.

PARIMAL RAY

MR. ATUL BOSE'S ART

One of the few things, inexplicably powerful and intriguing our emotional life, is Art. It is so palpable, yet so elusive, that to arrive at its sumtotal from a systematised knowledge of its principles is well-nigh impossible. In fact the data, on which the principles are assumed to be built, are themselves arbitrary. It is, therefore, impossible to apply the usual method of investigation regarding its mysterious character. That, in fact, differentiates it from science. Its classification, generalisation and verification are possible only on the broadest lines and even then they are, of course, erroneous since the motive remains unexplained and the impression on the observer is but proportional to his power of realisation. Then it is almost wholly altruistic in its denotation and its success depends upon its power to produce happiness and provoke thought. Thus it transcends the limit of mere matter and protrudes into the realm of mental activity by whichever name might the latter be expressed. The net result is that based although it is on a material product, its significance lies in the conception of its beauty and idea in the mind of the observer. The mind of the artist is purposely left in the background of this study as also his technique, since as a creator he is completely expressed by, and definitely limited to, his product. Yet a speculation on the artist's mind is permissible with a view to co-ordinate, if possible, his personality with his products. In these conditions, the observer is free to draw his own conclusions, according to his capacity.

The situation is indeed quite involved and the observer himself is often in the position of an examinee, which, naturally, he mentally resents. In effect he takes shelter behind a rigmarole of unintelligible phrases supposed to express his theory of the motive and principles regarding the object of art, its class, technique, etc. Any amount of nonsense, therefore, is capable

of being talked about art and even artists, and the literature on the subject is indeed voluminous.

The question is, then why talk about it at all? The writer at once admits of the pertinence of the question but the excuse is that, at the present moment, a spotlight has been focussed on an artist, and incidentally on his productions, owing to an unexpected appreciation of talent. Besides, in the general condition of the mentality of Bengal, realisation of the value of anything good and abiding only succeeds appreciation from the people of the outside world. Rabindranath Tagore was almost ignored before he received the Nobel Prize and when they proceeded to Bolpur in a special train to "garland" him in the usual manner, they only heard the truth to their chagrin. They had not even credited the very existence of Jagadis Chandra Bose till the scientifically minded geographical units outside the boundaries of India recognised the uniformity of response to stimulus in all matter living.

To resume, Mr. Atul Bose, an artist, with keen grey-black eyes, a high forehead, brushed-back hair and a determined chin has been commissioned by the Government of India to proceed to England to paint a couple of Royal portraits from the originals in the Buckingham Palace, for the new Viceregal House at Delhi. This is the result of an India-wide competition, a matter of pride for Bengal and specially for the Calcutta University, a fact, which, probably would have been totally forgotten but for these lines.

Mr. Bose was a brilliant student of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, and was enabled to study in the Royal Academy in London on the strength of the Guruprasanna Ghose scholarship awarded to him by the University of Calcutta, for the first time to an Art student. Mr. Bose has proved his worth and worthy of the confidence of the University.

A fit subject for a cartoonist to depict an unfathomable lunatic, or a knight of the brush to portray one of Mr. H. G. Wells' supermen with a physique on the late Mr. Sandow's

pattern, this man of paradoxical physiognomy is as much an enigma about himself as about his productions. A hermetically sealed steel caisson and an open-mouthed gas bag at one and the same time, he defies comprehension on any recognised canon of logic, being a coveted specimen of investigation only by a psychologist of behaviourism. Yet he is brimful of the delicate sweetness of life and suggestively fleeting human pathos. And the reflections of such complexities are indeed the qualities of his productions.

It is hard to describe the qualities of Mr. Bose's pictures in a few words and an attempt of such a description may at least be open to the charge of being indefinite. But the qualities are so very compelling that it is worthwhile making the attempt. Eloquent lines, definite masses and fugitive colour and tone values are deftly blended in graceful expression in his works. While the medium and technique are dyed deep in the occidental hue, the treatment, expression and suggestive values are peculiarly fragrant of oriental mysticism and evanescence. Of decorativeness and idealisation there are subtle revelations but they are based on the realities of fact. There is almost the touch of the uncanny, so characteristic of the unknown stone-age artist of 40 or 50 thousand years ago, who left his masterpiece in the shape of a bison on the roof of his cave dwelling at Altamira or that of the ethereal beauty of the mother and child from the quivering brush of the creator who left his impress upon the walls of Ajanta, or even that of the forceful virility of the canvases of a Rembrandt. A very peculiar combination it is, but such a combination is the peculiarity of Mr. Bose's work.

But is all this true? Perhaps opinions may differ-opinions expressed as a shelter to the mental resentment against the very complexity of the perception. All the same, the perception is there and the impression on the observer is as described above. That is the altruistic value of Mr. Bose's works. They appeal as realities of beauty and provoke thought towards things unknown.

We hear now-a-days of the antagonism of the two so-called schools of art, European and Indian. The wonder is that division has not yet been carried further to classify art under communal or class denominations, central, provincial or local. Of all the rubbish that can be talked about Art with a long-drawn face, this attempt to circumscribe a thing so inherently universal is, perhaps, the climax. Technique, method of delineation and expression may differ, as they must, but they do not mean any fundamental difference of conception, ideation and altruism. Mr. Bose's works are as much Indian as those of the artists of the so-called Indian school. Those who cry for the realisation of the Indian artist's genius in a particular groove or mode of expression, know not what they cry about. They merely submit to the fashion for the time being and fashion changes while truth is everlasting.

It is impossible to convey an idea of an artist's works in mere language. Those that are interested would undoubtedly spend an enjoyable hour at Mr. Bose's studio in Ballygunge.

D. MUKERJI

A FRIENDLY TREE

A Friendly Tree at the side of the road
With sheltering arms outspread
Is a lure to the traveller with heavy load
And a tired and aching head.

There's a heaven of rest 'neath a friendly tree
That some fine dwellings lack,
A welcome unspoken, yet felt by me
As I lay down my pack.

This friendly tree hath other guests
That come to its welcomed lair
A Wren, a Thrush are given nests
And a little brown Lark rooms there.

On a Sabbath morn they ope their throats
In merry lively songs,
And at Vesper-tide sweet melodies float
Soft as Cathedral gongs!

Night comes there and wraps her cloak
Of warm, quiet joy o'er me—
And all the little birdling folk
Who sleep in that dusk-cover'd tree.

And on a morrow after my rest
A lonesomeness comes to me
For I grieve to leave these happy guests
And my host, the Friendly Tree.

CHERRY JALASS.

HENRIK IBSEN

Towards Modern Drama.

I

Ibsen's appeal to ourselves and to the future generations will in the main be through the batch of plays beginning with '*Pillars of Society*,' '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*' and terminating with '*When We Dead Awaken*'—the plays, in fact, which brought about the revolution in the stage and inaugurated and established what has since been christened 'Modern Drama.' Consequently, these are the plays that should now be placed in the crucible of our imagination, their inward essences analysed, the better that we might set the new elements which have entered into Drama against those that had long been an indissoluble part of it but which, thanks to Ibsen, have been, let us hope, once for all expelled. Before such an inquiry is started, however, it is desirable, it may even be necessary, to follow up Ibsen's experiments at Saga Drama and at Poetic Drama—to trace the kaleidoscopic transformations, the perpetually baffling sentiments, the tantalisingly brilliant themes—if only with a view to a better understanding of the preparations that were a prelude to the construction of those colossal edifices of Modern Drama. We will touch upon only the most typical and there too our interest will be merely to discover, if possible, the seeds of the indescribable entity of Ibsen's art, and indeed to indicate the subtle and perhaps the undecipherable course of their germination, growth and final fruition. The present article will be devoted to a discussion of some of his early plays in an order convenient enough to demonstrate the development of his mind and the gradual deviation of his dramatic genius, after a multiplicity of perturbations, towards its natural bent.

II

'*Lady Inger of Ostraat*' written when Ibsen was twenty-six might as well have come from the pen of any talented playwright. It is of course brilliant; but sheer brilliance is not all that a dramatist should endow his play with. He should see too that the ring of reality is unmistakably present in the situations, the characters, the play itself. '*Lady Inger*' on the other hand, brilliant and clever as it is to suffocation, makes after all the inerasable impression that it is at best only a modern thriller moulded into drama. Though no chronicle play like Shakespeare's "*Henry V*," it is to a large extent coloured by Norwegian history. It has an intricate plot, too intricate perhaps, but the unravelling of the plot has not the usual interest of suspense for the reader, for the very simple reason he is made to know the truth much earlier. The revelation is therefore to the characters themselves, not to the reader or to the spectator. This is strange. Indeed such a method of unravelling a complex piece of plot was most suited to the classical drama of Aeschylus and Sophocles; but certainly not, one ventures to think, the Saga Drama of Ibsen. Yet the play is good, very good for a maiden attempt. The sentiment of the play is apparently 'patriotism': but the selfishness of individual characters is wound to such a high pitch that the greater sentiment of patriotism is blurred ever more and more till it is annihilated altogether. It ends as a tragedy: but it produces no mental depression worth mention. The heroine Lady Inger had lived long and achieved nothing: the hungry sheep had looked up to her for guidance, for fodder and they had received neither the one nor the other: even her own daughters had been sacrificed on the altar of selfishness—an understandable clumsiness of devotion to a son which obscures completely every other streak of light in her character. And Lykke—whether or not she is the heroine (or the very opposite?) of the piece,—is indisputably its villain-hero. What with his placid complacence,

his cowardice and his intermittent chuckles, he is undoubtedly of the family of Iago. There, we have the two protagonists of the drama.

The play would seem to deal with that period, and one of the darkest period too, in the history of Norway when she was under Danish subjection. The politics of three nations, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, interpenetrate the play through and through. Nils Lykke, a Danish Knight, pays a visit to Lady Inger, one of the most influential personalities of Norway. Their encounter is the central action of the play. We are prepared for it in Act I and in the next three acts they are constantly before us intriguing eternally against each other. In the last act he disappears for a time and then we get a glimpse of him again in all the malignity and impotence of his villainy before the curtain finally falls. Two other persons, Olaf Skavtavl, a defunct Norwegian noble, and Nils Stensson, the supposed son of a Swedish Count, also find asylum in Ostraat on the same night. Nils brings with him certain documents one of which shows that he is the son of Lady Inger herself: his errand is obviously to hand over the documents to a stranger who will go to Ostraat that very night. Olaf is the intended stranger and in fact arrives at Ostraat in order to get the documents. The unpremeditated arrival of Lykke at once complicates the whole affair. Olaf mistakes Lykke to be the deliverer of the documents and in vain interrogates him Lykke, on the other hand, assumes that Olaf is no other than Count Sture's son, the rebel leader of Sweden, and inwardly plots to ambush him. To complete the complication Nils Stensson arrives and meets as ill-luck would have it, Lykke. The latter is taken to be the 'stranger' and Nils hands over the documents to him. Once Lykke understands the bigness of the information contained in the documents, his fertile brain spins a web of conspiracy to enmesh Lady Inger irrevocably. He plans to take Nils to Denmark and keep him as hostage for the future good conduct of Lady Inger in Norway. Meanwhile the wily lady smells a

rat and has Lykke summarily imprisoned in her palace. Nils however passes for Count Sture's son and is made the leader of a small army of pleasant soldiers and asked to march towards Sweden. This gesture of support on Lady Inger's part is to move Peter, the Chancellor of Sweden, to give back her own son who has been so long kept as hostage. The pseudo-Count Sture is waylaid and driven back. He returns to the palace of Inger. In the meantime Lykke has succeeded in moving Aline, Lady Inger's daughter to a frenzy of love and devotion and finds no difficulty in escaping from the palace, thanks to Aline's amenable amicability. Lady Inger is now placed on the horns of a dilemma: either she should sacrifice Nils, the supposed Count Sture, or give up all hopes of re-union with her son—the one consideration to have swayed her to action during all these years. She does not know, poor thing, that Count Sture's son is no more and that her own son has been the one to pass for the rebel leader. Of course, she decides to kill Nils and Olaf does the deed. Aline in the meanwhile comes to know that Lykke and the cursed seducer of her dead sister are one and the same person. The old dread and contempt accumulated during years of intense brooding, leap to the surface of her agonised emotion and she follows her sister to the grave. With Act V the *dénouement* is reached. Too late, Lady Inger realises the futility of her deed; the ring round Stensson's neck is proof irrefutable. Aline is dead: her own son, fruit of her romantic though illicit connection with Count Sture, is dead too and theoretically by her own hand. Life has no more charms for her: the force that impelled her to action and may be the villainy has been eliminated. She does not notice Lykke standing perplexed and so close to her. The servant asks: 'My lady—what can I do for you?' She answers in a weak voice: 'What can you do for me? Get me a coffin too—a grave beside my son—.' She sinks upon the coffin of her son. God Almighty has brought the union at last! And, Nils Lykke, witnessing the end of his schemes, goes hurriedly out.

In bare outline this is the plot of '*Lady Inger.*' It makes extremely interesting reading. To watch in the course of the play, the Eagle and the Fox, one playing on the other and both proving slippery, is no small diversion. In the sustained duel of diplomacy, lies the mainspring of interest in the story. Lady Inger and Nils Lykke prove throughout worthy of each other's steel. It was only the blind fury of chance that brought about Lady Inger's downfall by placing at the service of her enemy the deadly venom of the secret. After all Lady Inger's life too, with all its lies and betrayals, required its termination. And Lykke was God's chosen instrument perhaps! Perhaps,—who knows?

III

The next play for our consideration is '*Love's Comedy.*' It is a violently disturbing play. In it Ibsen stands revealed not merely as a skilful playwright but as an extravagant satirist as well. The fact he chooses the perennial theme of love as the butt of his uncompromising attacks gives the play unique significance. The logic of Falk, the hero, who is in some respects the reflection of Ibsen, is not always easy to follow. The paradox at times grows too grotesque for comprehension. Nevertheless the power of the play is unquestionable. The music of the verses, the cleverness of the dialogues, the audacity of the reasoning, all contribute to the ultimate effect of the play. In reading it or in seeing it acted it is impossible not to take the view that it deals a severe blow to the Norwegian clerical society which was in Ibsen's days considered to be like Caesar's wife above suspicion. Rev. Straamand is a damning piece of vexatious caricature and that such a gross thin should be executed at all was the chagrin and the unconsolable rage of the official hierarchy of Norway. Surely, it was no business of Ibsen's, they thought! And for a time the country thought so too. The gentler sex, in their turn were puzzled by the

philosophy of love and marriage as sought to be inculcated by the play. Many could not help taking the view that Ibsen was an indecent coxcomb bent upon scattering filth and unwholsome dust on the sweet-scented theatre of Norway. And they had, it seemed, ample justification for their view. There were not wanting, however, the intelligent handful who understood the real purport of the play and who accordingly hailed Ibsen's achievement as the first triumph of an uncommon pioneer.

It would be seen in the discussion of Ibsen's later plays that the dominant note in them all is the cry of the futility of our conventions and ideals which have gained such rigid control over our lives that we have no elbow-room to have unembarrassing freedom of movement. The expulsion of out-of-date ideals, the relegation of certain other ideals to a strictly subordinate plane of importance, and the total abolition of those mischievous ideals that arrogantly claim the infallibility of divine laws—on these Ibsen is insistent in almost all his plays. If Ibsen fought for anything, he fought for individual freedom: if he fought against anything, it was against the cramping restrictions of convention, usage and ideology. The twin nature of the challenge which Ibsen was to sound in later years, indeed with increasing pertinacity and obstination, has its germination in '*Love's Comedy*,' though as yet, the issue is wrapped in a tissue of strange logic. But the central point which Ibsen wishes to drive home—the languishing nature of love—is clear enough. Falk, the young author, has his female counterpart in Miss Svanhild. What they talk is pitched in a high tone. 'The aim of individuality should be to be self-sufficient, to take one's stand on the ground of truth and freedom,' says Falk. To him as to her, our ideals, whether of marriage or of respectability or of society, have clipped the wings of our souls and crippled us in a thousand ways. It pains him to contemplate that love in being reduced to a science and being indissolubly connected with marriage has lost its basic virtue, the sky-soaring passion of souls singing in unison. The

corpse-like flavour permeating the movements of married folk stinks into his nostrils. The sight of the parson, with a lie in his heart and plenty of talk about truth in his mouth, is a standing abomination. Falk is determined after his own fashion. 'I mean to fight with all my might and main,' he says: 'fight against the lies that have taken so deep a root—lies that have been allowed to parade about so insolently that they almost look like truth.' Is it Falk addressing Svanhild or Ibsen addressing his brethren? Probably it is both.

For a moment it seems as though Falk and Svanhild, moving as they do in parallel planes of individualistic philosophy, will unite their lives for the better discharge of their mission. But the comparatively all earthy Guldstad in an argumentative encounter with Falk almost out-Falks Falk with the originality of his views. He distinguishes between love and marriage in an ingenious manner. Love for him is by nature undefinable, some aerial, evanescent, intangible thing But marriage, he opines, is something practical and is only another formal engagement. The recipient of one's love may never be and indeed ought never to be the proper one for one's nuptial bed for life-long wedlock. 'Love chooses the woman, not the wife,' adds Guldstad emphatically. The consummation of love is the signal for the stoppage of all relations between the lovers. The memory of the love is hereafter to offer nourishment to the lovers' souls. Queer and paradoxical of course: but Falk and Svanhild understand: 'We have gloried in the sweet intoxication of love: for us there must be no drowsing on the pillow of indifference'; with this resolution on "the very day our young love had its baptism of promises," the lovers throw away their very rings and bid eternal farewell to each other. What Falk says is symbolic: "Just as the grave is the gate of everlasting life, so love can only be consecrated to an immortal birth when it is freed from all feverish longings and desires, and wings its

way to its spiritual home of fond memory." They have lost one another for life—but have they not won immortal love for all eternity?

IV

'*Brand*' was published in 1866 after Ibsen had been a voluntary exile on the continent a few years. In many respects Ibsen struck a new path in this play ; for the first time he gave more or less coherent expression to the war between life and ideals, a theme which he was to thrash out in all its bearings in his subsequent plays. But more important than its anti-idealistic bias is the semi-autobiographical touch imparted to the chief character, Brand. Another reason for its intrinsic greatness lies in the poetic beauties of the original which have been unavoidably obscured in the translations. There are passages too that betray on Ibsen's part a strong political animus, as though he were violently complaining against his countrymen who did not take up arms on behalf of their kinsmen during the Danish-Prussian War.

The two central characters in the play are Brand and Agnes. Brand is technically a very good man. He is a priest taking his work very seriously with no further sanction than that of his own fanatic brain. He constructs his formula of 'all or nothing.' Before this all are to quiver unmurmuringly. Agnes, his wife, says :

> 'And yet—your love is hard, they say
> And when you would caress, you smite...
> many a soul has fallen away
> Before your watchword, All or Nought.'

The husband is nowhere more ludicrously fanatic than when he says in reply :

> 'Of what the paltering world calls love
> I will not know, I cannot speak;
> I know but His who reigns above,
> And this is neither mild nor weak.'

The play can rudely be said to be a budget of his blunders committed as a necessary consequence of the inexorability of this law. Humanity, of course, every moment creeps in. But she is ruthlessly shut out. According to him humanity but 'serves the weakling to conceal the abdication of his will.' He tells the doctor with menacing disapproval,

> ' You puny souls will make of man
> A mere humanitarian ! '

He, Brand, was made of sterner stuff. He would not flinch. His mother's dying entreaties are thrust aside and she dies unreconciled to her Maker. His own son pines and pines for better climate but is lost in the end for he could not get it without tinkering with Brand's idealistic code of conduct. Agnes receives a greater blow than the death of her darling child. She is passionately clutching close to her heart a relic of her child, as a solace, as a loving memory, and this she is ordered by her husband to give away to a gipsy whose living child is in need of that identical thing. She hesitates. But she is too obedient a wife to disobey. Yet the emotion is staggering. She drops and dies. In all this the dramatist's desire is to emphasise on one point and on one point only : how ideals, however laudable to all appearances, lead invariably to misery, once they are divorced from humanity and pushed to and beyond their logical conclusion. It is not in the least suggested that Brand has no heart : such a preposterous view would be untenable as there are in the play many unmistakable outbursts of love which breathe the poignancy and flaming reality of a very human person. It is his idealism that undoes him and functions as the cause of the wreck of many other lives. It is ever at war with his life, his own humanity : but such is his devotion to his ideal, such his obstinacy, that always his ideal gains the upper hand in every new contest. Yet his sincerity and personal holiness are beyond question. In fact *he* suffers more than anybody else. Only he

is blind to realities and is content to take his paradise for granted. The mysterious power which enslaves the reader is due in large measure to the universality of its motive. Is not the struggle between man and his ideals as old as time? When was the strife between the divine and human elements in man suspended for one second ? The state of man has been from times immemorial in a condition of perpetual insurrection. All that one finds in "*Brand*" is only an artistic, a poetic, one might add, an intensified exposition of this never-ending antithesis between man and his ideals. And the moral of the play is—so far as it can be expressed in language—that when man wins he wins only at the expense of his ideals, and when he fails, he fails because of the clogging, dragging, retrogressive nature of the cramping ideals of his own making.

It is needless to give a full catalogue of Brand's ineffectual experiments with truth. He talks nobly and it is nothing short of a headlong drop to turn from the sublimity of his sentiments to the streams of dull and insipid epithets that indecorously flow from the Sheriff and the Dean. For a time indeed Brand smells success; he is acknowledged a saint and the people have so much faith in him that they are prepared to follow him to the summit of the mountains, which Brand has assured them, is to be their promised land. But such wild enthusiasm is too wild to last. They are tired, they question, they prevaricate. The Sheriff announces—it is a lie of course—that a shoal of fish has come to the fiord and that all will be correspondingly richer and happier. Brand could hold out no such hopes. They doubt and turn away. Some go further and pelt him with stones: Brand is rid like a mad man among the mountains; following his way over the fells, he is bruised all over the body and bleeds profusely. Now he doubts himself: he is perplexed. In the meantime a descending avalanche buries him. And so he dies a saint and a martyr.

Much has been made of the symbolism and the satire of the play. That they are both in the play must be conceded; but it

should also be made clear that they are relegated to a subordinate plane of interest and that their inclusion has an artistic rather than a philosophic motive behind. The character of Gerd and her story of the hawk which she hits only during the last moments of the play, are soaked in loose symbolism though it is not worth the while to look deep into the exact meaning of it. Ibsen himself would have resented any such impertinent curiosity. As for the satire, it has been variously interpreted. It should only be expected that Ibsen, so late an exile from his country, which had been none too kind to him, would satirise Scandinavian life, however lightly, and give glimpses of that cowardice which shamefully led to Norway's self-stultifying neutrality during the Danish-Prussian War. Be that as it may. the greatness of the play has nothing to do either with symbolism or with satire. It is as a poetic drama of challenging power and universal appeal that it will finally take its place among the classics. And Agnes and Brand are unforgettable; it will be for us an eternal exchange of pulses with these two superb creations.

V

The play which followed close upon *'Brand'* was *'Peer Gynt.'* Very similar in construction, it yet differs from the former in that it is drenched in gaiety. There are a few biographical touches here and there. Ibsen himself wrote to Hansen, his friend, three years after the publication: "This poem contains much that is reminiscent of my own youth: for Aase, my mother—with necessary exaggerations—served as model." It is impossible too not to discover in Aase's outburst—

> Where
> Are the well-filled money-bags
> Left by good old Rasmus Gynt?
> 'Twas your father emptied them,
> Pouring money out like sand—

an allusion to the extravagance of Ibsen's own father which had brought the untimely crash in his business. In a letter to the famous critic George Brandes, who was one of Ibsen's life-long friends and admirers, he wrote : " In writing '*Peer Gynt*' I had the circumstances and memories of my own childhood before me when I described the life in the house of 'the rich John Gynt.' "

But '*Peer Gynt*' is by no means a mere autobiographical work. It is first and foremost a fantasia. The duration of the play is almost the whole of Peer Gynt's life-time. With such a wide expanse of time and the shifts of scenes in wild disorder from Norway to Egypt and from roaring seas to inaccessible deserts, and above all with the ready resources of the highest lyrical poetry and the rich heritage of Norwegian folk-lore, Henrik Ibsen has been able to give us in '*Peer Gynt*' a work in which the distilled radiances of Drama and Poetry on the one hand, and fantasy and satire on the other, attract and repel, impinge and rebound and yet preserve a harmony to the finish. It is an achievement ; a *tour-de-force* among literary creations. The mind falters when it approaches '*Peer Gynt*' with a view to analysis.

In the first act we are introduced to Peer Gynt, a very young man filled with prodigious illusions about himself. He has early formed his ideal by reading old Norse Tales and this ideal has taken the form of the ability to " ride the rein-deer through the air." A self-engrossed egotist to the core and deeply sensuous, he is a born liar also ; he deceives everyone, not excluding his mother, a very jewel of a woman and innocent to a fault. He is never tired of giving a catalogue of his imaginary exploits:

> " Pooh! I can ride through the clouds on horse-back,
> There are lots of fine things I can do, I tell you! "

People take him, on the face of no further proof of these vainglorious declarations, for the booby, the braggart, the born rapscallion. At last he gives proof of his courage. He carries away

Ingrid on the very day of her marriage to the adjoining mountains and then deserts her. He is presently met by three girls who cheerfully take him to their hut to spend a night with them. And he readily consents. Next morning Peer is wild and distraught with remorse and exclaims :—

"Cleanse my foulness
In a bath of the keenest wind!"

But the inherent egotism soon returns : he contends himself with bragging—

"Great, Peer, were thy beginnings,
And in great things thou shalt end."

Then comes the extraordinary interlude in the Troll kingdom. This part is characteristically brilliant : it is a capricious piece of fantastic folk-lore. The late Sir Edmund Gosse wrote that "the wild impertinence of fancy" displayed in this interlude exceeds in recklessness anything else written since the second part of '*Faust*.'" The life and customs of the Trolls are described with a minutiae, thus making the second act sparkle with a peculiarly vivid life. The conversation between Peer and the Troll king, in which they discuss terms for the marriage of Peer with the Troll Princess, is full of the fun of another and a stranger world. In spite of Peer's willingness to attach a tail to his body, to take an oath and other sundry concessions, the conference fails. Peer's courage is in a way shown in what follows. The timely ringing of the church bells saves him from an untimely death at the hands of the Boyg. Though saved from the Boyg, Peer has yet to answer for the rape of Ingrid. He is caught and outlawed for life. The rest of this act (the third) breathes in every line the lofty fervour of high lyrical poetry. Here the poetic and lyrical beauties of the play reach their supreme distillation. The two women characters, Aase, the mother and Solveig, the sweetheart, permeate this act with their refreshing radiance. The sacrifice of Solveig on

the altar of love is pathetic with an unqualified sublimity, an unapproachable divinity. But Peer makes up his mind to desert her and to run away to America that he might escape from the hallucinations of the Troll world : his farewell speech which conceals his lie, is worth reproducing :—

Solveig: But dear
Don't be long.
Peer Gynt: Be patient Child
Whether the time is long or short,
You must just wait.
Solveig: Yes, I will wait.

And she waits a whole life-time. But Peer runs away to his mother and finds her dying. After her death he sails for America where business luck makes a multi-millionaire out of Peer. He is now in a position to frame his philosophy. He describes with exultation the " Gyntian self " as—

" an army
Of wishes, appetites, desires."

and as

" A sea of fancies, claims and aspirations."

He has some faith in God, or rather in his being under the direct patronage of God. Unfortunately, certa in of his friends desert him in an inaccessible land and steer away with Peer's own yacht. But in a few minutes the yacht is blown up and this brings back to Peer his confidence in himself and his queer faith in God. He exclaims :

" He takes a most fatherly interest in me—
But He's not what you'd call economical over it:"

A new round of adventures is now in store for this hero of selfish vanity. He has a tussle with apes but is quick to find his consolation—

" We men are but nothing, after all,
And must bow to the force of circumstances."

God does not forsake him, of course. He finds a white horse, and Peer greedily jumps upon it and gallops away across the desert. On the way he is hailed as Messiah by an Arab tribe and he is for a time thoroughly satisfied.

> "If a man salutes you, it's for *yourself*,
> And not because of your pounds and shillings."

Yet the state of affairs could not last long. An intrigue with a dancing girl reduces him again to a helpless condition. He is left alone in the desert. He wanders aimlessly and reaches and accosts a statue of the great Sphinx. A ludicrous concatenation of absurdities crowns him "the Emperor of Exegesis." Meanwhile his sweetheart, Solveig, is waiting without one poor word of complaint.

> "God guard you dear, where'er you be!
> If in Heaven, God have you in His care!
> I shall wait till you come back to me;
> If you're waiting above, I shall meet you there!"

As a girl, as a middle-aged woman, as an old lady, Solveig has been earnest in her longing, ever hoping, ever loving. At last, Peer also, a broken old man, returns to the haunts of his early days. After some further excruciating experiences wisdom dawns upon his mind, the clouds are chased away, the mists cleared. He finds to his utter disillusionment that if there had been anything heroic about himself, it was neither in his ideals he had desperately pursued, neither in the feats of valour which had been cowardly even when not positively sinful, nor even in his sufferings for he had only too well deserved them—no, it was rather in the sweet and heroic vision of Peer nurtured in the loving imagination of his sweetheart. Their re-union is the close of the play. And the last note in the song of Solveig:

> "I will rock you to sleep and guard you!
> Sleep and dream, my dearest boy!"

She is mother and wife in one: and thus aptly Ibsen leaves Peer Gynt and Solveig.

As pointed out already '*Peer Gynt*' is a poem. It has indeed been staged and has been a success. Nevertheless it is impossible to get rid of the conviction that it is a beautiful poem and that only, for, "as such Ibsen wrote it." No doubt there is the twin-satire in the poem—that directed against Norwegian society and that against the dogged pursuit after man-made ideals which make everything else subservient to them. Whatever view one may take of its satire, the fact, that '*Brand*' and '*Peer Gynt*' form a class by themselves in the whole range of world's literature, stands out prominent. Between them too, similar as they appear to be on the surface, there is every divergence in sentiment and characterisation: but this only wields the pair the more harmoniously as a unique whole.

VI

At Berechtsgaden, in the Salsburg Akps, was begun Ibsen's five-act comedy, '*The League of Youth*' and was published in March 1869. This, chronologically ill-fitting in the list of his plays, coming as it does between '*Peer Gynt*' and '*Emperor and Galilean,*' so dissimilar in spirit and construction to it, is yet important for more reasons than one. First, it may fairly be claimed that '*The League of Youth*' is the first realistic prose-play to be published in Norway and consequently it holds a historical significance in the literature of Norway which it is not easy to underrate. Second, the skilful manipulation of the intrigues in the play gives ample proof of the influence of the French Dramatist, Scribe, on Ibsen during the early stages of his dramatic career. Third, in this play, Ibsen demonstrates how the prose-play is best suited for depicting realism as well as for purposes of propaganda, satire and human appeal. And last, it easily consents to be labelled a political satire.

As a matter of fact, the play is full of politics. Only, the dramatist came to caricature the 'people's party' and if he did not totally forget his original intention, at least shifted it to the back-ground in his zeal to make the caricature of Stensgaard strikingly prominent. Stensgaard is a lawyer-politician, inflated with all the vices and none of the very few virtues of the two professions, which he is assiduously to follow. There is no scruple which he will not swallow, no statement of political opinion which he will not withdraw, no particle of honour with which he will not readily compromise, if only he could be convinced that it would lead to his worldly advancement. And the play is about the fluctuations and alternations in his opinions (political opinions) and the consequent changes in his fortunes. There is not one conceivable political party with which he is not willing to associate nor one marriageable woman, virgin or widow, old or young, whose hand he will not, quite conscientiously, hold in the bond of marriage. His mind is ever open: his emotions no less so. Of course in the end he meets with the only fate he deserves. He is rejected by every party, unceremoniously let down by every woman—not excluding the plumpy old Madam Rundholmen.

It would be seen from the foregoing remarks that Stensgaard, whose character is developed with great fun, is the dominating factor in the play. And so it is. But there is something more in Stensgaard than the fact of his being the chief character. It is commonly acknowledged that Stensgaard is more or less a caricature of Ibsen's great countryman, Bjornstjerne Bjornson, whose intimate association at the time with the discredited "Young Party" seems to have filled Ibsen with profound distrust and suspicion. The publication of the play made the gulf between the whilom friends only the wider. Bjornson was enraged and perhaps justly so: and not until the expiration of a long period of estrangement did the two great sons of Norway effect a reconciliation which luckily continued for the rest of their lives.

When all is said, '*The League of Youth*' will not stand high in the list of Ibsen's plays. It is sparklingly written: it is a complicated story of intrigue and is told with the compelling dramatic technique of Ibsen. Yet it is neither a poetic drama like '*Brand*' nor a social satire like '*Pillars of Society*' and the rest that followed it. However, there are one or two incidents in the course of the play which may be justly said to herald the New Ibsen of the social satires. In the character of Selma we have a forecast of the later Nora of '*A Doll's House.*' When Selma finds that she had never been asked "to make the least sacrifice" by the husband or the father-in-law but merely to be a parasite battening on men, she glows with indignation and tells her husband with characteristic force of language which reminds one of Portia (in '*Julius Caesar,*' Act III) and Nora. "You don't know," she says, "how I have longed to be allowed to share your troubles! . . You dressed me up like a doll; you played with me as if I were a child. I would have been glad to share any sorrow;...Now you think I am good enough—now Erik has nothing else. But I am not going to be a last resort like that. I won't have anything to do with your troubles now. I shall leave you! I would rather sing and play in the streets—! Let me be, let me be!" (Rushes out at the back.)

There is here the same ring of majesty, though subdued, which characterises Portia's speech when she demands "by right and virtue" of her place to be taken into Brutus' confidence. These are too the intimations of the spirit of womanhood rising in rebellion against the cheap patronage and detestable caress of the husband, which are the impulses irresistible that impel Nora to action. Unlike Nora, however, Selma returns to her husband. But Selma is only an early, and perhaps a crude edition of Nora. The logical conclusion is to be made manifest in Ibsen's masterpiece only.

VII

Ibsen's next play, '*Emperor and Galilean*' is one of the wonders of modern literature. Henrik Jaegar, his Norwegian biographer, has called it his most extensive play. It is not compact: its two component parts are ill-knit together. But even when taken by themselves, the two parts, '*Caesar's Apostasy*' and '*Emperor Julian*' easily stand comparison with the most voluminous of Ibsen's single plays, '*Brand*' '*Peer Gynt*' and '*Pretenders.*' It is apparent that when Ibsen set about writing this colossal play, he had some magnificent idea in his mind which he wanted to translate in the medium of drama. Some grand moral principle, some fundamental mental conflict, some significant code of conduct, should have first given the impetus to the construction of this play. But the more one reads it, the more one consults the critics for illumination, the more one finds it impossible to make out the central idea behind all the impenetrable texture of mythology, religion and philosophy which strangely shroud the characters and in fact the entire action of the play.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw in his brilliant '*The Quintessence of Ibsenism*' puts the play under consideration to a vigorous analysis and says—he says many things. He seems to think that the play ought to have been called "The Mistake of Maximus the Mystic" as it would have given a better description of the contents. It is true. Maximus and not Julian is the guiding force in the play. His mysticism is the electricity which sets the conducting Julian in intrepid motion. Once in motion however no power on earth could bring it to a standstill, not even the force of the origin. The mysticism of Maximus is high-soaring all right: only, it chose the wrong spot for its fertilisation: the soil, while it thankfully received the implanted seed, so distorted the growing figure that it engulfed and destroyed both the giver and the product. The choice of Maximus the Mystic was mistaken. Mistaken indeed is too

mild a word for eventually the recipient of the message dies tragically.

For anything approaching to a proper understanding of the grim issues contending for absolute mastery throughout the intense action of this amazing play, it should be clearly remembered that when it was written Europe was in the very seed-time of modern progress and still not yet on the high road to the royal destination. On the one hand the works of Darwin were giving a new significance to the order of the world and on the other, people were more and more losing faith in revealed religion and its concomitant implications. The theories of Evolution, Heredity and Natural Selection were all in the air. Thomas Henry Huxley was carrying forward the work of Darwin in his Scientific and Philosophical discourses. "By concentrating his attack upon dogma and the belief in verbal inspiration, which he stigmatised as Bibliolatry, he helped very materially in freeing the vital core of religion from such superstructures, and in showing how unessential to true religion is most theology" (Julian Huxley, "Essays in Popular Science," p. 140). While the work of agnostics, atheists and super-scientists in this manner demolished the validity of revealed religion, Science had not yet, for the benefit of man, formulated a religion acceptable to humanity. Lord Morley indeed said: "The next great task of Science is to create a religion for humanity." But it had not been done then: it has not been done even now. Be that as it may, Ibsen when he wrote about Cæsar's apostasy was swimming between the repulsive 'dogma' of one shore and the desperate, arid waste extending beyond the other. And his play deals with the rush, roar and tumult of what lies midway between the two extremes.

The conflict between the higher and lower urges in Cæsar which lead to the final act of ascending the throne, is rather hard to follow, wrapped as it is with an incongruous mixture of casuistry and egotism. The tough Caesar is made to envisage and choose between the sensuous paganism of old, the

idealistic simplicity of Christ and the imperishable supremacy of the "empire of Man asserting the eternal validity of his own will." (Shaw, "*The Quintessence of Ibsenism,*" p. 63). With a curiously obnoxious self-conceit and introspection Caesar views the whole question and finally decides that as he is in Man's will, and as he is himself the most distinguished of men, himself no less than "the pilot of the Galilean Lake" is God. And so the old Caesar gives place to the new Emperor.

But Emperor Julian has no peace of mind. Himself no less than the Galilean is God? The duality proves most discomforting. The rival should be eliminated, if this anomaly should be removed: thus he concludes. But the simple martyr on the cross eludes the cumbrous grasp of the Emperor. Julian doubts. He consults Maximus: "How is He begotten?" Maximus answers: He is self-begotten in the man who wills." The truth is too profound for clarified comprehension. The force that made him can no more undo the mischief. The avalanche must move and come to its own natural termination, terrific, explosive; its impulsion could be counteracted never: it must exhaust itself and die at the moment of total disintegration.

As a result of a battle Julian is fatally wounded. Wisdom in a way comes to him at last: he acknowledges defeat at the hands of the Galilean, then dies with a clean conscience. Maximus knows that the third empire where man's Will will rule one and unobstructed, is not yet and hurriedly leaves the scene. His religious idealism, not dissimilar to Brand's, projected on the receptive vision of Caesar, not far differentfrom that of Peer Gynt, constituted the two ingredients which interacted with so much persistence that they inevitably led to the final explosion. Maximus gathers the broken fragments and these are the hopes he still cherishes of the Third Empire of the future.[1]

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(To be continued)

[1] The quotations from Ibsen's Plays are from the English translations in the Everyman's Library and are here reproduced by kind permission of the Publishers, Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons.

AGRICULTURE IN OLD BENGAL

Bengal, by the nature of its alluvial soil, is an extremely fertile country and it is natural that her teeming millions have adopted agriculture as their main occupation. In the olden times, the agriculturists of Bengal, attained a high stage of perfection, judging by the standard of the age. The people even dared to assail the Sanskrit canons, which gave the first place to trade and commerce and only second place to agriculture amongst the four recognised methods for earning livelihood. The Bengali peasants boldly declared the priniciple that agriculture should always occupy the first place.[1] Thus :—

" Although it is said, trade begets wealth still there can be no denying the fact that trade has its drawbacks ; the reason being that people require much capital for trade and take recourse to fraud without which they cannot always succeed. Into service, one should not enter, if one has an iota of self-respect in him. Beggary brings no fortune. Evidently it is then agriculture which is the most suitable occupation for a self-respecting individual."[2]

There was a day when even a Brahmin did not consider it beneath his dignity to do the work of cultivation himself (see Mukundaram's Chandikāvya, p. 22, C. U. edition). In the Sanskrit work Parāsara-Saṃhita, a high place is accorded to agriculture. In this work advice has been given to the Brahmans to carry on agriculture with zeal. " With the paddy cultivated by himself or acquired from a field cultivated on his behalf, he should offer the five sacrifices (enjoined in the works on Smriti) and should likewise be engaged in celebrating the sacrificial rites such as the Vedas prescribe (the five sacrifices are mentioned by Manu, in Ch. 3, St. 70)." (See Institutes of

[1] See Chās-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, Fol. 3; see also F. 1 and 2.

[2] Chās-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, Fol. 3.

Parāsara, Translated into English by K. K. Bhattacharyya, second chapter, Bibliotheca Indica.)

The old Bengali literature is full of vivid descriptions of the condition of agriculture as it existed in the past, specially in the pre-Mahomedan period. The same method is followed even to the present day. Conservative as the peasantry are, they still use the same implements and follow the same maxims as they did in the dim past.

Many adages, specially the sayings of Khanā, are current in Bengal proving the agricultural wisdom of the people. Thus, " cultivation should be done personally by the owner of the field. He should himself plough the land being aided by his son only. For want of a son, his brother should help him. No other person should be trusted in the matter of cultivation " (Khanā). Again, " in agriculture he who works personally is sure to get the full profit, while he who simply does the work of supervision of his own field, gets only half the profit. But the man, who idly passes his time in his own home without going to his fields and enquires about the state of his crops from there like a person unconcerned, is sure to undergo loss and suffer from want of foodstuff." This adage shows that the Bengal peasantry was not in favour of the trusts or organised labours, which in these days are so highly productive of success. Dhenki or the rice-husking pedal was once considered as an indispensable implement in every household. A house not containing a " dhenki " was stigmatised as forsaken by the goddess of luck (see an adage by Dāk).

Agriculture in the alluvial soil of Bengal has its troubles. Besides reclaiming waste lands and bogs the actual work of cultivation has its disappointments and drawbacks which are not to be ignored. Thus :—

" It is with great trouble that harvest can be gathered. If there is drought then it is all over with the peasant. If there is good harvest forthcoming in any one year, the king is cruel enough to put it to sale for his own benefit at the expense of the

poor cultivators. Inspite of the good harvest it is not the cultivators who really get the profit—but the king. The peasants till the soil amidst immense sufferings in the muddy and boggy soil and manage to drag on their miserable existence not so much by mixing with the good men as by coaxing very bad people who are self-seeking to the extreme and are the real masters of the land." (Chāsa-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, F. 3).

Like drought flood is another great detriment to the prospects of the peasantry. In the story of Maluā (Mymensingh Ballads) Chand Benode's sad plight is described as follows :—

" When the month of Aswin came, the flood remained to such an extent that all the crops went down the water, and became totally destroyed. This made Chand Benode quite penniless. In this way Aswin passed by and Kartik came with no better prospect.....The miseries of Chand Benode were beyond description. There was not enough paddy in the granary even for the purpose of worshipping the harvest goddess (Lakshmi)." (Maluā, Mymensingh Ball., Bengali version, p. 43.)

The following humorous and incidental description given in the Sivāyana poem by Rāmeswar furnishes a true picture of some agricultural difficulties in this country. Thus :—

" When the paddy had grown in the fields a thorough weeding became necessary. The goddess Durgā became aware of the intention of the god Siva in this respect and sent the leeches to annoy the great god. The leeches of the smaller type moved on the grass and the bigger ones remained in water with the hope of sucking blood from the unhappy victims who would come within their reach. Siva's assistant Brikodara came to the fields in the morning for clearing the weeds while the Lord himself sat on the grassy ridge near by. Both were attacked by these leeches...Siva, however, applied lime and salt all over the affected parts as a result of which, all the leeches discharged blood and were at last killed." (Sivāyana by Rāmeswara.)

In another place of this work we find " the God Siva (described as a farmer) instructing his assistant in the method of cultivation. The first step was to root out the weeds with great zeal Both the master and his servant worked hard and in a very short time planted the seedlings of paddy, raised the ridges and cleared the field of many kinds of wild grass. Both of them laboured in the fields from morn till noon daily." [1]

The peasantry of Bengal have known from very early times the method of measuring the crops, vegetables and the fruit trees as well as curing them when necessary with indigenous methods which are neither costly nor complex in nature. They were well aware of the fact that certain things which are *injurious to men are beneficial to plants.* The following lines from " *Khanār Vachana* " will illustrate our point :—

(*a*) If some water in which a fish has been washed, is poured at the root of a gourd plant, then the plant will surely be benefited from it.

(*b*) The smut of corn (paddy) should be thrown into the bamboo-grove. If this is done, the result will be a very rapid increase of the grove. Earth should also be thrown into a bamboo-grove to serve the purpose of manure.

(*c*) Betelnut plants require liquid manure for their growth, etc., etc.

The following pithy sayings from Khanā's Manual show considerable agricultural wisdom and deserve our passing notice :—

(*a*) It is the rains which make the soil fit for cultivation—popularly known as Kāḍān. When the soil is not thus not made fertile in Āsāḍh, *i.e.*, June-July, the paddy will not grow adequately. If the soil is made fertile in Srāvan (*i.e.*, July-

1 The custom of working only half-a-day had once the backing of the Sastras. They specially recommended this time-limit when one worked with the bull In the Parāsara-Saṃhita, we find " An able-bodied bull free from disease, well-fed, hearty, and not impotent should be made to work for half the day, then should one give the bull a wash,"—Parāsara Saṃhita. This was, of course, due to kindness shown to the animal.

August), the paddy will grow in profusion. In Bhādra (*i.e.*, August-September) the late rains will be injurious to the growth of paddy. In Aswin (*i.e.*, September-October) the land, inspite of its fertility due to the rains, will bear no crops.

(*b*) The year in which there will be enough mangoes growing, paddy will also be growing in abundance. Similarly, the year in which the tamarind will be growing in plenty, there will be excessive flood occurring in the land (during the rains).

(*c*) If the cocoanut fruits are plucked every now and then, fruits may be had in larger numbers. Quite opposite is the principle with the bamboo-grove. The less the bamboos are cut down the better will be the growth of the grove.

(*d*) The brinjals (*Solanum Melongena*) may be sown throughout the year save and except the Bengali months of Baisākh and Jaistha (April-May and May-June), etc., etc.

The Bengali peasants are experts in weather-forecasts, as they have opportunities for a close observation of nature. Their wisdom in this respect is exemplified in the sayings of Khanā (Khanār Vachan) which they have remembered from generations past.

The following specimens of Khanā's sayings will serve to illustrate how accurately the peasants of Bengal could forecast atmospheric conditions :—

(*a*) The appearance of a rainbow in the eastern sky during the rainy season is a sign that there will be too much rain and consequent overflooding of the land.

(*b*) The rainbow in the western sky will bring drought but the rainbow in the eastern sky is a sure indication of coming rains.

(*c*) If it rains in the month of Agrahāyan (November-December) the land suffers by so terrible a famine (due to the destruction of crops by locusts) that even the king goes out a-begging.

(*d*) When in one year there will be mist in the month of Chaitra (March-April) and flood in the month of Bhādra (August-

September) the death rate of the people will appreciably increase, etc., etc.

The cultivators of Bengal always guided their agricultural operations with the help of astrological observations. There is no historical data as to how or when knowledge in Astrology came into their possession, but so far as could be ascertained tradition points to a foreign origin. Besides the Bengali treatises, we have evidence of astrological association in agricultural operations even in Sanskrit works such as the ' Krisi-Parāsara.' The Bengal peasants must have found inseparable connection between Astrology and Agriculture as many pithy sayings current among them show their knowledge of astrology. A few saying from Khanār Vachan are quoted below by way of illustration :—

(*a*) When according to astrological calculations, in any particular year, Saturn occupies the highest position and Mars is next to him, then agriculture will not flourish that year.

(*b*) If the planet Mercury be ascendant, and Venus be next to him, then no doubt the fields will yield rich harvest.

(*c*) Bananas may be taken throughout the year with the exception of the Bengali months of Bhādra (August-September) and Chaitra (March-April),[1] etc., etc.

The customs and superstitions have important bearings upon agriculture, as we find from a perusal of ' Khanā,' and from the practice of the peasantry current in Bengal. These may not be altogether meaningless. Close observation of centuries may have contributed to the wisdom of such sayings, as, sowing paddy seeds within the first five days of the month of Āsāḍh (May-June) will yield much crops or ' Tila ' (sesamum) is to be sown either within the last eight days of Falgun (February-March) or within the first eight days of Chaitra (March-April).

[1] The Bengali texts, as usual, are given in the technical phraseology of astrology. The Bengali months are expressed here through the names of the figures of the Zodiac. This style has interesting similarity with the astrological expressions of the agricultural people of the Malabar side in the Southern India. See " Economic Life in a Malabar Village," pp. 162-163 by J. Subbrama Aiyar.

As regards the superstition which prohibits one to plough in the days of the full moon and also of the new moon it may be said that these days are generally attended not only by inclemencies of weather, but also by corresponding bad effects on animal system (as believed by all Bengalis). These aphorisms are therefore not without some significance :—" He who cultivates the soil in the days of the full moon and the new moon is sure to suffer misery. His cows will suffer from rheumatism, and scarcity will prevail in his house. He who tills land in these two prohibited days is ruined "—says Khanā. But the truth in the above, if there be any, is much exaggerated and verges on the ludicrous in the following lines :—" Even the mighty king Rāvana was killed with all his family by planting bananas in the month of Bhādra (August-September)," and "All prosperity will smile on the peasants if they begin tilling from the eastern side of the field."

From the materials, discussed above, some idea of the agricultural condition of Bengal in the past may be easily formed. As the outlook of the Bengal peasant has undergone little change, they are also useful in understanding the present state of our country to a certain extent.

TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA. M.A.

AUTUMN SONG

It is a lonely autumn night
I sing a song in my lonely heart.
Round the eave the dripping waters sound ;
In the garden the scattering leaves sound.
The whispering winds reply on the door.
It is a lonely autumn night,
I sing a lullaby in my lonely heart,
Like a tender mother by her cradle.
How often comes autumn and goes away,
To invite an orphan to sleep !

JINKICHI MATSUDA

THE MAKARA IN INDIAN ART

The Makara motif is extremely complicated as to its origin and composition. The word Makara evidently summons up the image of a mythical sea-monster. Considerable speculation has raged round the question of the origin of this particular decorative form. "One writer, an Indian, calls it a purely mythical one, not found in nature. Another writer goes further to suggest that it was evolved out of two animals—'the Rhinoceros and the Tapir;'" [1] while others would prefer to call it a sea-elephant. The complete silence about the actual form of the Makara in the ancient texts, has led to varieties of fanciful forms being reproduced by artists at their own initiative. The unlicensed freedom has also resulted in the prevalent haziness about the elementary nature of the conception.

"The form is undoubtedly conventional," says Akshaykumar Maitra. "It occurs not only as the Vāhana of Gaṅgā, but it is also associated with Varuṇa as a Dikpāla ; Kāmadeva, the God of love, and Pushpadanta, the ninth Tirthankara of the Jainas. It is older in Indian art than any image of Gaṅgā. It occurs in decorative designs in temples, gateways, thrones, and ear-ornaments, as well as in the form of gargoyles, to carry off ceremonial water from temples. It has been the favourite decorative design from the earliest times. The wide range of its usefulness can hardly be accounted for by a purely imaginary origin. It occurs as one of the signs of the Zodiac which in no other case reveals an altogether imaginary form." [2] Mr. Maitra, by reference to old Indian literature, has been able to dispel the notion about the wholly fabulous nature of the Makara. "Suśruta clearly calls it a sea-fish" and the Bhagavadgitā, in Krishna's address to Arjuna, says, "Among the

[1] M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 208; and H. Cousens. The Makara in Hindu Ornament, Arch. Surv. of India, An. Rep., 1903-04, p. 229.

[2] A. K. Maitra, The River Goddess Ganga ; Rupam, April, 1921, p. 8.

purifiers I am the wind ; I am Rāma among armed men ; I am Makara among fish, I am Jāhnavi among the rivers."[1] These unequivocal statements establish the aquatic character of the animal.

Now let us consider the survivals of the Makara forms and its stylistic evolution throughout the course of Indian art. We have strong reasons to believe that it was the crocodile and specially, the Gharial or Gavial, usually frequenting the waters of the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Ganges system and Orissa and Arakan, which furnished the model for this conventional creature. It should also be remembered that the Gharial is confined only to Northern India. Mr. Dikshit has recovered numerous seals from Mahenjo-daro, depicted with abundant representations of this particular species, which was considered sacred, even in those far off days.[2] The next oldest phase of the Makara, is provided by the heavy uncouth quadruped, with closed jaws, the upper lip being slightly curled, and a crocodile tail with an indented upper edge, at the spring of the arch of the Lomaṣ Ṛṣi cave façade (Fig. 1).[3] Dr. Vogel has pointed out in his excellent article on "The Makara in Pre-Indian Sculpture"[4] that "as the corners of these niches came to be changed (being replaced by spiral motives on Toraṇa cross beams), these crocodiles came to be provided with coiled up fish-tails." In the biped Makaras of the Bharhūt gateway, we can easily recognise the elongated and distended jaw, lined with serrated teeth of a Gharial, the loose flapping ears of an aquatic animal and a curling fish tail ending in a gigantic fin. (Fig. 2.) The knob of the crocodile snout is gradually curved outwardly and upwardly. In some of the early specimens from Bharhūt and Sānchī (Fig. 3), however, the elephant affinities

[1] Chapter 10, Sloka 31.

[2] Marshall, Mahenjo-daro, A.S.I., A.R., 1924-25, Pl. XXII, C.

[3] Burgess, The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India, London, 1897, Vol. I, Pl. 4.

[4] Nederlandsch, Indii Oud en Nieuw, 1924, pp. 263-276.

are sometimes betrayed in the heavy and massive heads and fore-paws ; but the predominant component elements of these fantastic creatures are those of a crocodile. The rail fragments from Kankāli Tilā, of the pre-Kushana Mathurā sculpture, offer a gallery of different types of the Makara (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of them are uncouth quadrupeds, having a crocodile body combined with a long twisted tail like that of a fish.

M. Stutterheim has recently discovered the influence of the Hellenistic zodiacal Capricorn or " Goat-fish " in the Makara motif. He is of opinion " that the change which turned the crocodile into a fish crocodile, and which is mainly identified with the school of Mathurā, is perhaps due to grafting, if we may so call it, on to the Indian crocodile of a fish tail, which found its way into Indian ornamental art *viâ* the strongly Hellenistic Kingdom of Kusana. In this line of argument the South Indian pachydermic quadruped could but be the result of a new grafting of the abovementioned makara-fish on to some creature which existed in South India, and which had a similar, or at any rate, closely related, symbolical meaning," [1] which he tries to unravel with the help of abstruse astronomical data. How far the above conjectures are true, we leave to authorities, better and more competent, to answer. But we may only venture to suggest that fish-tailed Makara does not appear for the first time in the Kushāna regime, but had its previous existence not only in pre-Kushāna Mathurā, but also on the Bharhūt rails and on the Besnagar column, which are universally ascribed to the Śuṅga period.

The next stage in the evolution of this monster design is afforded by the Amarāvatī marbles. A novel departure is perceived for the first time in the sinuous movement of the inwardly curving scaly tail and in the introduction of short graceful horns, also bending inwards. (Fig. 6.) The dramatic rhythm

[1] W. F. Stutterheim. The Meaning of the Kāla-Makara Ornament, Indian Arts and Letters, First Issue for 1929, pp. 33-34.

and aggressive vitality of the contorted and intensely supple body, aptly illustrates the spirit of late Āndhra sculptures.[1] The peculiar flourish of the tail and the awful grin of the massive jaws, is perhaps already crudely suggested in the biped Makara bracket of the curry-stone, recovered by Sir John Marshall, from the Scytho-Parthian city of Sircap, Taxila.[2] With the dawn of the Gupta era, the hybrid amphibian undergoes further decorative stylization. The significant change introduced, concerns radical transformation of the different parts composing the fantastic creature (Fig. 7). The swelling head, emphasised by round and flowing curves, terminate in short, tapering and undulating lower jaw, and in an extended and downwardly curving proboscis of the upper one, with pronounced elephantine characteristics. The fish tail, again, is foliated into convoluted Gupta scrolls of intricate delicacy. This novel variation, however, must not be confused with the true sea-elephants, composed of the foreparts of the elephant and the winding fish tail, which figure quite independently and side by side with the Makara, on the Bodh Gayā rail coping and the springing of the ornamental arches of the Rāni Gumphā at Udayagiri, Orissa. "From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era," observes Mr. Maitra, "the Makara specimen disclose numerous transitory efforts to arrive at a decorative adjustment. They were struggles with hardly any permanent achievement—struggles which chiefly aimed at a gradual distension of the jaws, to suit decorative lavishness, which was then making a gradual advance."[3]

In the succeeding ages, when the admirable Gupta reticence was forgotten, so many decorative details were added to the pattern, to augment the purely picturesque effect that the original can hardly be traced sometimes. The stylization was

[1] Burgess, The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta; London, 1887, Pl. XXVI, 4.

[2] Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1928; Leyden, 1930; Fig. 3.

[3] Maitra, *ibid*, p. 9.

completed, as we have already seen, with the addition of a pair of spiralic horns. The early Pallava and early Chalukyan monuments, at Mahāvalipuram and Aihole respectively, are noted for the introduction of peculiar architectonic features in the form of the Makara-toraṇa where the shrine portals are often adorned with this fantastic creature, perched upon the pilaster mouldings, with long florid tails dangling beneath. This particular element continued to be persistently reproduced, in the form of arching canopies, topped by a grotesque Kīrttimukha mask, in Chola art, beginning from the eleventh century A.D.[1] But the most remarkable development of the Makara-toraṇa, "So frequently seen thrown across overhead, from pillar to pillar, in rolls and cusps of airy gracefulness, or, in a smaller scale, engirdling the tops of image niches and panels upon the temple walls"—is visible in later Chalukyan architecture The biped Makara of the Gupta and post-Gupta art, is again changed into a pachydermic quadruped, extremely conventional and highly ornate, where the original aquatic character entirely vanishes (Fig. 8). "The mediaeval form shows us a heavy-bodied, short-legged quadruped, with huge jaws and a short curling trunk or elongated proboscis. But the glory of the beast is in its tail. This, starting in its natural place, and not from the navel, as we find in the case with the florid tails of some of the Gandharvas in the ceilings at Abu, curls and spreads up around and over his back and haunches, and in a magnificent multiplicity of elaborate flourishes and whorls, forming a fan-like display of intricate and interlacing arabesques. In some cases the body is dwarfed into insignificance beside it."[2]

In mediæval Simhalese art, Coomaraswamy points out, the Makara face is never used by itself; but profile representations are usually associated with the ornamental arch. It is described in Rūpāvaliya in the following way. "The Makara has the trunk

[1] A. S. R. Ayyar. A Few Makara-Toraṇas from South Travancore, Rupam, April, 1926, p. 40ff.

[2] Cousensi, *bid*, p. 227.

of an elephant, the feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish living in water, the teeth turned outwards, eyes like Hanumān and a splendid tail."[1] The ancient monuments of Burma from the 9th to the 13th century A.D. have their imposing portals and beautiful windows decorated with Makara-toraṇas. The flamboyant wings of the oft-recurring foliated arches, echo the Makara forms and in a few, *e.g.* Thabbinnyu, Shwe-Kugyi and Dammayangi at Pagan, these fabulous hybrids are actually represented in low relief. In all the cases, only the debasely rendered heavy and massive heads are depicted, prominent for their undulating upturned trunks, which were apparently translated into familiar flame ornaments as the piece-de-accents of Burmese architecture. The employment of the Makara-toraṇa by the artists of Champā, has already been pointed by Mr. O. C. Ganguly, specially with regard to the pedestal from Mison.[2] The Makara head-pieces are also characteristic of Cham structures and less formally represented. The terminal Makara spouts of the Primitif period, are imitations of the elephant head in every minutest detail, including the eyes, the tusks and the large fan-like ear. The soft and fleshy modelling vividly recalls the round features of the great mammal.[3] The only extraneous element is the row of sharp teeth, lining the upper jaw and the association with several human beings. The example from Chiem-son, Quang-nam, belonging apparently to a later period, illustrates the advent of lavish elaboration in the grafting of scrolls and spirals, till the naturalistic elephant head becomes obscure in superficial relief. The degeneration is, however, completed in the Derivative Art of the twelfth century A.D., when the stylization is effected by the formal array of bristling fangs, horns and flamboyant ornamental appendages. The schematic treatment consists in precise and dry composition,

[1] Coomaraswamy, Mediaeval Simhalese Art,. Broad Campden, p. 84.
[2] Ganguly, The Art of Champā ; Rupam, July and December, 1923, p. 45.
[3] Parmentier, Les Sculptures Chames, Ars Asiatica, Vol. IV, Paris., 1922, Pt. X.
[4] *Ibid*, Pl. XI. No. 315.



1 Lomas Rishi Cave. Barābar ; 3rd century B. C.



2. Bharhūt, 2nd century B. C.



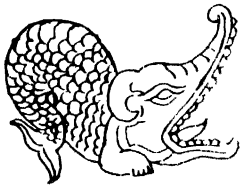
3. Sānchī, 1st Century, B. C. (Cousens)



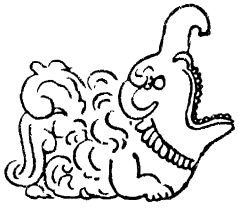
4. Mathurā, 1st Century B. C. (Cousens)



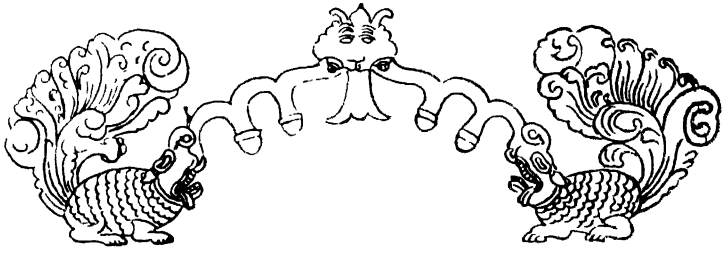
5. Mathurā, 1st Century B. C. (Cousens)



6. Amaravati, 2nd Century A. D.



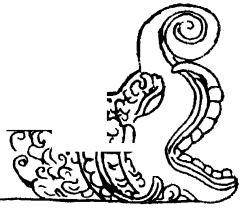
7. Ajantā, Cave XVIII, C. 500 A. D.



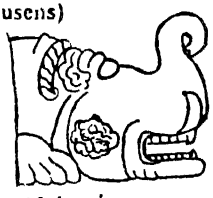
8. Chalukyan Architecture, 10th Century A. D. (Cousens)



9. Vaital Deul, Bhuvanes'war ; 8th Century A. D.



10. Prambanan, Central Java ; before 900 A. D.



11. Muktes'wara, Bhuvenes'wara 10th Century A. D.



12. Lingarāj, Bhuvaneswara ; C. 1000 A. D.



13. Kanārak, 13th Century A. D.

sharp angular lines and extremely low relief.[4] The elaborately carved temples of pre-Khmer architecture, are noted for the quadruped Makaras, with elephant heads, trunks flung up high and floriated tails, decorating the door lintels,[1] *e.g.*, at Sambor-Prei Kuk. They are obviously derived from the South Indian models but contrary to our expectations, they do not form the starting points of the principal arch over the doorway, nor are they joined together by ornamental clasps, as is wont to be seen on early Pallava and early Chalukyan edifices. The foliated arches crowning the bas-reliefs of Dvārapālas and Apsarās at Bako and Lolei (Rulouh), invariably end in a short and heavy Makara head facing outwards in typical Orissan and Bengali style.[2] In later periods it was transformed into a flamboyant leaf, like the Burmese example, and ultimately into a multiple-headed Nāga. Classic Khmer art discarded the Makara-toraṇa and lintel and the resurgent indigenous note is vividly struck in the replacement of the traditional Indian formula by the many-hooded snake, at the ends of an infinite number of ornamental arches of Bayon and Ankor. But, for the most prolific employment of the Makara motif, we must go to Java, where it is almost invariably combined with the Kīrttimukha, on the doorways, stairways and as gargoyles, in innumerable variations. Following the Indian precedent, sometimes, little lions or other animals, are seen to emerge from their mouths. In later phases these subsidiary figures, which are often human, become the predominant element, observes Krom, at the cost of the Makara heads. But nowhere else, not even in India, have the heads from central Java been surpassed in the exquisite modelling of the component parts, in the aesthetic balance of the marvellous arabesque ornamentation over the eyes, ears and corner curves, in the wonderful rhythm of the gliding curve of the yawning mouth and the coiling trunk[3] (Fig. 10). But the inevitable

[1] Permentier. L'Art Khmer Primitif, Paris, 1927, Pl. XVI.

[2] P. Stern, Le Bayon D' Angkor, Paris, 1927, Pl. 21, A and Pl. 22, A.

[3] Krom, L' Art Javanais, Ars Asiatica, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1926, Pt. XII.

decline sets in the motifs executed during the Majapahit Kingdom.[1] Modelling is scarcely noticeable. The classical feeling for restrained ornamentation and the graceful sweep of the contours, is sadly lacking. The general outline is lost in a misunderstood application of spiral foliage over the whole piece, savouring of decadent art.

But did the Makara, in its interesting and amazing career, ever cross the northern boundary of India to explore fresh avenues of development? The presence of the omnipotent and all-pervading dragon, its powerful Chinese counterpart, rendered such adventurous prospects extremely hazardous. But in the wake of the Indian Kīrttimukha, which we have been able to trace definitely on the Chinese soil,[2] it is quite possible, that we may also discover significant footprints of its constant companion too, however faint they may be. For, beginning from the Gupta period, the foliated ornamental arch, derived from the original Buddhist Chaitya-window, which is almost invariably crowned by a Kīrttimukha mask and ended in a Makara, at each springing, is almost a regular feature of Indian art and architecture, and gradually assumes the character of an auspicious convention. The similarity of the dragon heads, on some of the early Chinese bronzes, to the Indian motif is remarkably striking,[3] while two fish dragons carved in low relief on a mirror of the T'ang style, is more so, for their surprising likeness to the Makara.[4] Further evidence of the influence of the mythical Indian device is supplied by the Buddhist stetæ of the Northern Wei and T'ang dynasties, in the crowning foliated arch formed by magnificent coiling dragons, reminiscent of Chalukyan Toraṇas, and in the dragon pairs seated in juxtaposition, around the riches on the top, which are seemingly Chinese translations

[1] Krom, *ibid*, Pl. XXIX.

[2] The interesting history of the Kīrttimukha or "lion mask," is going to be dealt with in a separate article by the writer, shortly.

[3] Koop, Early Chinese Bronzes, London, 1911, Pl. 83, 6.

[4] *Ibid*, Pl. 91, *a*.

of the Indian Makara designs in their characteristic and favourite combination.[1] Last of all, the awful and enormous gaping heads with prehensile proboscis, which is probably not a dragon characteristic, serving as terminals of the ornamental arch, with a Kīrttimukha finial, on the Lung Hu ta Pagoda at Shen T'ungssu (Yuan Dynasty), leaves perhaps little room for doubt as to the intrusion of the Makara motif in such a virile and original art as that of China.[2]

In Orissa, the Makara does not play a dominant part as it does in Chalukyan architecture of the Kanarese districts. Neither is it so abundantly reproduced and in such variant phases as the Kīrttimukha. Why the Orissan sculptor fought shy of this typical mediaeval ornament, is difficult to discover. The South Indian pachydermic types are also foreign to this particular locality, as in most other parts of Āryāvarta. The earliest temples do not contain the Makara. A few crude and archaic designs only, consisting of a short and heavy gaping head associated with elaborate arabesque tail, in low relief, are recognized on the upper horizontal moulding of the "Barandi" of the Paraśurāmeśwara temple (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 8th century A.D.). But the sore disappointment caused by the ineffective and inadequate rendering of the fantastic creature, on the previous temple, gives place to a sense of wondering admiration, when we are confronted with the beautiful specimens of Vaitāl Deul and Iśāneśwara (Bhuvaneśwara, late 8th century). The Makara heads, projecting outwards, at the wings of several outstanding decorative Chaitya-window "Bhos's," topped by the usual grotesque mask facing each cardinal direction, or the "Rekha" of the Deul, and emitting human figures in the traditional way, are the best ever attempted by the ancient Oriya artist. (Fig. 9.) In the sensitive modelling of the soft, smooth and undulating surface of the fabulous elephant face, set off

[1] Siren, Chinese Sculpture, London, 1925, Pl. 109, 233.

[2] *Ibid*, Pl. 617.

by the gorgeous intricacy of the resplendent tail—which is sure to satisfy even the most fastidious critic ; in the impulsive throw of the upturned head and the stirring vitality of the swaying form, in the wonderful rhythm of the round and tapering lines, emphasised by the coiling elongated trunk, slender lip, inwardly curving fantastic horn, tiny curling legs, and the magnificent sweep of the neck and the body terminating in flowing arabesque scrolls, they are only matched by the splendid Makara heads from classical Java, with which there is something more than an accidental resemblance. If the Javanese "Kāla-Makara" ornament had anything to do with Indian models, the inspiration was obviously supplied by the elaborate ornamental arches of the eighth century Orissan temples, crowned by a broad and stretching Kīrttimukha mask and flanked by outwardly facing virile Makara heads. (*Cp.* Figs. 9 and 10.) The lace like tracery flowing out of the back of similar but miniature Makaras, often envelope the vertical panels of the "Bāḍa" niches, in convoluted whorls of intriguing delicacy and richness.

With the commencement of the classical era in Orissan art the fantastic motif is again relegated to comparative obscurity. The temple of Mukteśwara (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 10th century) is specially noted for the free-standing large Makara-toraṇa in the front, adorned at the springing of the massive semi-circular arch, by a pair of boldly projecting, huge and heavy, goggle-eyed Makara heads, with distended jaws, fringed with teeth and short curling erect proboscis, a pair of ornamental tusks—but devoid of any florid appendage at the back (Fig. 11). Bands of foliage, starting from diminutive heads are also applied on the horizontal mouldings of the fanciful "Rekha" representations at the base of the supporting pillars and elsewhere below the "Bho."[1] Subsequently on the great Liṅgarāj (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 1,000 A.D.) the terminal heads themselves were curiously transformed into fantastic scrolls retaining but a faint echo of the original animal

[1] Cohn. Indische Plastik; Berlin, 1923; Pl. 54.

form (Fig. 12). A special feature of the later temples, is the so-called "Vana-Jiva-Ghatita-Latākāma," embellishing the panels and pilasters, which often enclose within its rambling loops, little Makara heads. Pairs of these devices, are also employed at the springing of the principal "Bho" on the northern face of the Liṅgarāj tower, instead of at the wings, as in the older structures. They seem to descend further downwards, on the Ananta Vāsudeṿ (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 12th century) and, for the first time, project in the air, from both sides of the board panel, supporting the said ornamental arch of the Śikhara. The heads are characterised by great heaviness ond compactness and have stiff and very short coiling trunks. The innumerable miniature Chaitya-windows adorning the pedestal of the Sūrya-Deul, Konārak (13th century A.D.), are each provided with the usual pair of Makara heads at the base, discriminatingly fashioned; while the trefoil arches, surmounting the images, *e.g.*, the swinging Krishna figure, attended by Gopīnīs, end in similar typical heads.[1] But the gargoyle of Māyā-devi's temple, Konārak, is peculiarly attractive inspite of the bulky uncouth features and highly conventional treatment (Fig. 13).

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

[1] *Ibid*, Pl. 76.

SONG UNSUNG

I

To Violin.

O Mother sweet of fairy forms
To move this heart to smile and tear,
But when embrace for rest I seek
In formless joy they disappear.
Ah! when in life I seek for Love
Then all is lov'd that was unlov'd
When washed by Love's sweet, silent dip.
My yearning heart then cries for Love
And Love unseen is heart's joy-slip.
O Love, Thou life's mystery
Be Thou life's one history!

II

Child in Arms.

Thy cry came first, my sweetest joy,
And now thy lough I hear,
I learn to rede life's riddle hard
That laugh is child of tear;
To aches and pains of life succeeds
The peace serene that all exceeds.

III.

Finale.

My eye is blind, my ear is deaf
The song unsung but lives in heart
Life's many are but echoes sweet
The song unsung their end and start.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

ROBERT BRIDGES

A little consideration ought to be given to the poems included in *October and Other Poems* (1920) before the *New Verse* is taken up. We first dispose of the "six poems or sonnets of various dates'[1] in this small volume.

" Poor Child " has some strange rhymes—"discover" rhyming with " thy lover," " whereunder " with " of wonder " and, in the last stanza, the word "thee" rhyming with itself. But "lonely" and "only" "wild-wood" and " childhood," are nice bits. Flat prose pursues Bridges somewhat relentlessly in the last two lines of a piece of only twenty—

> " Saddest is, poor child,
> That I cannot love thee,"—

where prose pretends to save its face by resorting to the Puck-like trick of a mere "*inversion,*" which, alas, cannot claim even what led Keats to give up his Hyperion in utter despair—the honour of being Miltonic!

In 1904, our poet bewailed that "Folk alien to the Muse have hemm'd us round,"[1] yet we have to swallow from *him* too a good deal of things so alien to poetry!

The next piece (To Harry Ellis Woolridge) too in the same tune complains that

> " Love and the Muse have left their home, now bare
> Of memorable beauty, all is gone,
> The dedicated charm of Yattendon,[2]
> Which thou wert apt, dear Hal, to build and share."

[1] To Percy Buck l. 1. (October and Other Poems, page 58, 1920 ed.) It is in this piece that Bridges refers to his own love of "the purer style" and it illustrates his devotion to music.

[2] In Berkshire where Bridges lived for nearly 20 years and composed most of his best lyrics.

The ten consecutive monosyllabic words of the last line, here quoted, bear witness to the poet's workmanship and we do not fail to appreciate the rhythm of

> " who while-ere
> Haunted the ivy'd walls, where time ran on
> In sanctities of joy by reverence won."

The Virgilian "*Fortunatus Nimium*" is in the lighter vein of 17th century lyrists.

The sonnet "*Democritus*" (composed 1919) is in a different key and has a richer music in its sestet and challenges comparison with some of Wordsworth's sonnets. We quote for their rhythm three lines and a half—

> " Thy spirit, Democritus, orb'd in the eterne [3]
> Illimitable galaxy of night
> Shineth undimm'd where greater splendours born
> Of sage and poet; " * *

Then we turn to the 1913 poems in the volume, four of which illustrate his *experiments* in new prosody and his new rhythms, as his Notes explain. He explores "possibilities in long six-foot line" (*i.e.* twelve-syllable verse), tries to get rid of the Miltonic anomaly of excluding " extra-metrical syllables from all places but the last " adopted by Milton so as to resolve by "elision" all verse into his disyllabic scheme.

" The West Front "—the fourth of these experiments—uses skilfully harsh place names but has no poetry. Not so " The Flowering Tree ", with its fine rhythmic lines—

> " All with wild blossom gay
> As is the cherry in May
> When her fresh flaunt of leaf
> Gives crowns of golden green",

which admits rhyme " as an ornament at will " of all kinds, *viz.*, end rhyme, alliteration and assonance.

[3] We postpone remarks on archaisms.

"Christmas Eve," [4] 1913, ends in a beautiful stanza of twelve lines, the last six of which are rich in melody:—

"The old words came to me
by the riches of time
Mellow'd and transfigured
as I stood on the hill
Heark'ning in the aspect
of th' eternal silence."

The poem "*Abroad*" [5] contains four fine rhythmic lines in

"So faint and yet so far
so far and yet so faint—
Return beloved to me
but thou must onward strain"

We highly appreciate in *October*,[6] the 2nd stanza—

"Each moment some new birth
hasten'd to deck the earth
in the gay sunbeams.
Between their kisses dreams:
And dream and kiss were rife
with laughter of mortal life."

So also, the concluding lines—

"Footsteps of eternal Mind
on the path of the dead."

The sturdy optimism of *The Philosopher and his Mistress*; the absolute surrender of *Narcissus* in the lines—

"All that we love is thine—Almighty!—
Heartfelt music and lyric song
Language the eager grasp of knowledge
All that we think is thine,"

preparing us for *The Testament of Beauty*; the philosophical

[4] "The metre or scansion of this was," we are told in the Notes, "publicly discussed and wrongly analysed." In "measure" it is similar to 3 other poems, all the four being experiments in new rhythm and neo-Miltonic prosody.

[5] "In Der Fremde."

[6] The opening piece.

attitude in *Our Lady* (which, however, is rather harsh in diction and is far too *intellectual*) befitting a Roman Catholic Mary-worshipper; the localised romance of *The Curfew Tower* and its unrhymed stanza form (reminiscent of such poems as Collins' *Ode to Evening*, Lamb's *Old Familiar Faces*, and Tennyson's "*Tears, idle tears*"); *Flycatchers*, with its fling at the poet's schoolmaster,—"an authoritative old wise-acre," who fed him and his school-fellows ranked in a row on a school-form, who were "with intelligences agape and eyes aglow," "not less eager and hungry" than the pretty fledgelings of flycatchers, with "*dead flies*—such as litter the library south-window"; and, finally, the parable-like *Hell and Hate*[7] with its Rossetti-wise imagery in

> "As the moon's rim appeareth
> Scann'd through an optic glass," [8]

and

> "Whereon the stars were splashes of light
> Dazed in the gulfing beds of space,"

and its significantly characteristic note embodied in

> "Then knew I the Angel Faith,
> Who was guarding human Love,"

which anticipates the *Testament of Beauty* so far back as 1913;——all these are to our mind a set-off to the *nineteen*[9] war poems, beginning with "*Wake Up England!*"[10] (composed, August, 1914) and ending with "*Der Tag: Nelson and*

[7] Written December 16, 1913, being "the description of a little picture hanging in my bedroom" (Notes, page 63). It appeared in the Literary Supplement of *The Times* for September 24, 1914, when the war broke out.

[8] Milton over again with just a Coleridgian Fouch in the imagery.

[9] *Vide* Calcutta Review for June, 1930, p. 391, item "1914." *October and other Poems*, etc. Italics mine.

[10] Written August, 1914. "The verses appeared in *The Times* on August 8, 1914" (Some Notes, page 64). Some alterations have since been made in it. "The motto," we are told, "is the King's well known call to the country in 1901 at the Guildhall."

Beatty—A Broad Sheet," which form the bulk of this slender volume.[11]

As regards the *hungry* mouths of eager, intelligent and enthusiastic fledgelings of school children being fed by a wise-acre with dead flies, this satire is an ancient nemesis from which even less wise schoolmasters have not often succeeded in escaping unhurt. Bridges is no exception, all his gentlemanly nobility notwithstanding, to the general rule of Western school-boys in their accustomed "reaction" to the notorious spoon-feeding that even to-day prevails in the educational methods of progressive countries. The Public School system which used to be extolled, rather immoderately in England, down to our own time has quite recently come in for its share, deserved or otherwise, of condemnation and Lord Eustace Percy, former Minister of Education, is credited with the *modernist* slogan of decrying the public school *fetish* responsible, we are informed, " for increasing misfits in life." He is reported to have urged at the meeting of the British Association, at London on September 4, 1930, " the development of part-time education in technical schools," as the latest panacea for twentieth century politico-social evils, left to the world as the richest post-war legacy of ultra-modern industrial civilisation in the West. The Hindu mind, so pitiably immobile according to the late Poet Laureate's considered verdict, simply stands aghast and perplexed at the disconcerting quick pace of Westerners in changing their front.

Bridges' wise-acres are, on the face of it, the modern edition of "such as, for their bellies' sake, creep and intrude, and climb into the fold! "

Ergo,

" The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed ;"

11 " October and Other Poems " is a volume of only 62 pages of which 36 are taken up by the war poems (18 of which were added later on to the last of the other pieces which was, however, itself a war poem). I reserve for the present my comments on Bridges' war poetry which will be taken up later on with his " The Spirit of Man " (anthology of 1916, mentioned at page 391 of the June Number of the Calcutta Review).

nay, Bridges' improvement on old Milton is, *they are fed* but with "dead flies," being sheep in the flycatchers' clothing!

This sarcastic piece, *Flycatchers*, was written in 1913. Will it be too fanciful if we suggest that the poet's attitude here to schoolmasters may have, *to some extent*, been determined by their obstinate and somewhat offensive opposition to his spelling reform, which cost a vast amount of careful thought and assiduous practical efforts on the poet's part to secure appropriate printer's types and founts to suit his well-selected script so that his proposed phonetic spelling might be both easily legible and *aesthetic*? Let us quote from his essay on "*English Pronunciation*" (written originally, no doubt, by 1910 but not published with his revisions, notes, etc., before 1913):—

"The great assistance which I looked to come from the reform of Latin pronunciation in our public schools has been sadly lessened by the attitude of the masters, who have in many cases (at least so I am told) taken up the matter so half-heartedly, if not unwillingly, as to render the reform almost nugatory. I wish that I may convert some of them to a different view. If they could be brought to see what they themselves lost by wrong education, they would, I am sure, *shrink from the responsibility of inflicting the same distasteful damage on the succeeding troops of youngsters who come to them for the best instruction.**** But the old habit is so fixed in the teachers that it is difficult to move them. Even those who have gone willingly to work have not wholly understood the matter." [12]

Here it is not difficult to detect that a baffled zealous reformer is administering with all the warmth of a staunch advocate of a defeated good cause a sharp, if not slightly angry, rebuke to an organised body of men in authority who appear to the reformer as no better than obscurantists. The recollection of the poet's experience as a schoolboy is thus fortified by

[12] Pages 25-26 of "English Pronunciation." Italics mine.

a later experience (this time of a vanquished reformer) not less bitter. And what otherwise might have been nothing stronger than "emotion recollected in tranquillity" has, to our mind, been unhappily transformed into a *feeling* more intense than feelings usually are with a poet like Bridges, often accused by a host of not unappreciative readers as generally wanting in that quality of feeling-intensity. We offer this surmise by way of an explanation of the parable in *Flycatchers*, for what it is worth, hoping however, that it is not altogether fantastic. The poet's advocate may urge that it is nothing more or less than at worst an instance of Bridges' humour, however crude. It is true Bridges is unlike Wordsworth in the matter of humour of which we have many examples in his last production—*The Testament of Beauty*. We propose to take that topic up in connection with our estimate of his genius as unfolded in that last testament to his readers and admirers and therefore refrain from a discussion of that point here.

We have to say a word about the Miltonic disyllabic scheme into which the "elision" device attempted, according to Bridges, to forcibly reduce feet with more syllables or hypermetric lines. We should remember in this connection all that Bridges has to say in his essay on *Milton's Prosody*. It is enough for our purpose if we rest, for the present, content with a reference to Professor Saintsbury's elaborate treatment [13] of the subject in his classical "*History of English Prosody*" in 3 vols.

In Appendix A to his "*English Pronunciation*," Bridges expresses his anxiety to save [14] "some of the decaying sounds" of English Speech which may be one of the reasons of his preference for such archaisms as the Chaucerian "Goddes Grace," or "birdis note" (in *The Flowering Tree*, last line but two). His Appendix B elaborates his theory of the danger to long or open vowel

[13] *Vide* pages 207-272 of Vol. II, Book VI, Chap. I (specially pp. 207-8, 238-56 on Apostrophation and Syncopation, 257-8 on attempts to systematize Milton's anomaly, 258-9 on Mr. Bridges' views, 266 *et seq.* on the true prosodic position of Milton and the Conclusion.

[14] Page 88 of "English Pronunciation" (1930).

sounds from the Cockney's inveterate habit of "crushing polysyllables," as, for instance, is done by "the guards on the Metropolitan Tube Railway," who reduce Westbourne Grove to *Sbongro*,[15] and Tottenham Court Road to *Torrmorro*.[15] He was further informed that a porter at Wolvercote pronounced the name as a monosyllable.[16] A classical instance of this craze for monosyllabification (to borrow Prof. Saintsbury's manner) is "qm.l.t" as the pronunciation of *accumulate*, where all unstressed or unaccented vowel sounds are summarily given a short shrift.[17] We may refer our readers for brevity's sake to "*English Pronunciation*," Appendix E, page 65, for Bridges' opinion on his omission of the final *e* in all spellings where it is both useless and misleading. His *New Verse* (1925) gives us some taste of this *innovation* introduced by him in the [18] lines—

> 'you needn't be bash'd nor mortified,
> nor fancy you're laid on the shelf.
> things ain't as they used to be inside;
> I don't go in much myself,'

or in such [19] lines as "Take no thought o' the morrow," "To have your turn wi' sorrow," "And not too much o't 'other" (for which Burns was, perhaps, his model).

On the contrary, an emphatic "Sir," he adds, addressed with ever increasing force to one moving further and further away might be represented by *Sirr* or appropriately even by *Sirrrr !*

15 Page 33 of "English Pronunciation" (1930).

16 *Ibid*, p 41

17 Bridges gives us 'delicat" (T. B IV. 297), "pleasur" (*ibid*, 367 and 371) side by side with "pleasure' (*ibid*, 369 and 370), "nativ" (365) but "native" in I. 316, 'pictur" (I 260) "cultur" (I. 731), "restiv" (II. 36), "liv" (II. 213), "hav" (II. 309) but "have" (at many places) "wer' (II. 328) for were in order to indicate right sound value and also "passionat" "determin," "motiv" (II. 359-363).

18 *New Verse*, Part III, XVII "A Dream" (page 72, C.P.S., 1925).

19 *Ibid*, III XXII (page 80). In XXVI (translated from Sappho we have not only "an' out o' the golden archways" but even 'Saph', an' avenge thee"—perhaps, an extreme instance of "crushing" even of monosyllables which beats hollow the Metropolitan Tube Railway guard's practice !

Illustrations of this principle, we find, are not wanting in his *Testament* where we come across "high-spredd" (I. 284), "globe-spredd" (I. 724), "Thatt" (I. 642) and the like.

Now, this bold innovator of innovators observes in his essay on *English Pronunciation*—"indeed of all the vowels which are held to have a long and a short form there is none in which I detect less qualitative tone-change than in this indeterminate vowel indicated by the topsy-turvy *e*" (page 42). And he made, he says, "sufficient distinction by differentiating the extremes" and advises teachers not to encourage slovenly habits in their pupils but to educate the lips and tongue, so that children might from the first be taught to differentiate the unaccented vowels correctly, as is done in French Schools, with the result that their adults pronounce well (page 43). Evidently Bridges, the spelling-reform advocate in prose essays, carries his protest against "the actual dangerous condition of our slipshod speech" just a little bit too far, to our mind, in the new spellings introduced into his *Testament*, though one can easily defend his differentiations between, say, "hav" the auxiliary and "have" the principal verb or "that" the conjunction and "thatt" the demonstrative adjective. We may even reconcile ourselves to "spredd" for the sake of the desired stress, which helps us to properly *read* poetry. He himself approves of the distinctions made by Mr. Daniel Jones in his *Phonetic Transcriptions of English Prose* (Oxford University Press) of three forms of pronunciation —*viz.*, (*a*) that used in reciting or reading in public, (*b*) that used in careful conversation or reading aloud in private, and (*c*) that used in rapid conversation. He also recognises the two main standards of pronunciation, the literary and the conversational, but protests against the conversational becoming established as 'correct' by the phoneticians. But he favours shortening into a monosyllable ('sh·n') the *old* three-syllable suffix '-ation' (say of Milton), only if the sound of *i* in the commonly accepted 'shn,' which he deprecates, *is heard* (*vide* pages 47-48 and 28). His chaste classical taste makes him,

as we feel, a bit too nervous over invasions by vulgarisms, such as that of the "palatizing degradation." Possibly this reason led him to give preference to such forms as *Vijayano'ggar* and *Kalikata* which are infinitely superior to the vulgar Vizianagram and Calcutta and *Gunga*[20] to the intolerable Ganges (the *Testament* IV, 339 and 343).

Personally, we highly appreciate these innovations as decided improvements but *ethick* or *mathematick* is rather pedantic and "difformity" (IV. 1191) interferes too officiously with the established order to pass unchallenged. The invasion of pedantry is hardly more acceptable than the invasion of vulgarism, though the latter does, no doubt, stink. His remark at page 55 of his *English Pronunciation*, however, seems to me an anticipation of the welcome changes in Indian place-names just noticed; for, he says there—"Thus the beautiful name *Bel-amy* is degraded by us to *Bellermy*, and we discard the lovely *Himā-lā-ya* to say *Himmerleyer*!" This is as it should be and we are happy that it is so. It should serve as a much-needed and very valuable warning to those Indians who waste half their all too short lives in aping the "*crushing*" of beautiful open long vowel sounds of Indian names by Cockney mispronunciation of these, or worse still, in vainly trying to reproduce the "Oxford accent," so dear to the cultured Englishman.

We have, we plead, to take the side of his "critic who said that he had *er* on the brain," as is evidenced by "Defendër" of the Faith in the *Testament of Beauty*, Book IV, line 350.

We must not appear, however, to make too much of minute details, but the topic is neither irrelevant nor unimportant and does require a further discussion in connection with my observations on this poet's diction as distinct from the question of poetic diction in general.

[20] *Vide* page 407 of Calcutta Review for September, 1930

His choice of words.

Mr. Robert Lynd is thoroughly correct when he lays emphasis on the sound value of words for which poets prefer them more than for their meaning—"words selected not for their sense but for their appeal to our senses." "Who that has ever been young," he appropriately and convincingly adds, "has not admired these words"—meaning the poet's use of catching names of precious stones like 'chrysoprase' or 'chalcedony'—"though they conveyed nothing except a blur of beauty to his intelligence?"[21]

Prose choice *vs.* poetic choice.

In Bridges' "*Poems in Classical Prosody*," Epistle II (To a Socialist in London), ll. 230-34, we read—

> "Mágical also
> Ev'ry recondite jewel of Earth, with their seraphim-names,
> Ruby, Jacynth, Emerald, Amethyst, Sapphire; amaranthine
> Stārry essences, elect emblems of purity heirlooms
> Of deathless glories, most like to divine imanences."

We may refer in this connection to stanza 2 of Masefield's "*Cargoes*" in his *Salt Water Poems and Ballads*. It is superfluous to dwell at length on the characteristic trait of Swinburne's choice of words—his repeated rejections of words and phrases merely because of their *sound*-unsuitableness for his purpose. Miss Katharine M. Wilson in her highly suggestive "*Sound and Meaning in English Poetry*" (especially in Book II, Chapters III and IV) makes illuminating remarks on even the *letter-sounds* of words (as distinguished from sound values of words taken as units), illustrating how poets write to a somewhat *sub-conscious* melody.[22]

Miss Amy Lowell in her "*Dolphins in Blue Water*" gets fine results from the same source in the lines describing the after-effects of the "Crackerjack's" jump, plunge in and out of the water—

> "With smooth over-swirlings of blue water,
> Oil-smooth cobalt,

[21] Page 20, *The Green Man*, III, "In Praise of Mistakes."
[22] *Vide* page 421, Calcutta Review, September, 1930.

Slipping, liquid lapis lazuli,
Emerald shadings,
Tinting of pinks and ochre.
Prismatic slidings
Underneath a windy sky."

Leaving aside the effect *upon the eye* of the line-*lengths* in this free verse, we note how *meaning* is here helped by sound-value of rightly-chosen words in their poetic (*versus* prose) order, calculated to *poetically* record the rich result of realistic apprehension, by a poet, of carefully and minutely observed phenomena. Here is a new kind of composition with the poet's eye firmly fixed on the subject immediately concerned. The *image* is made by poetic technique to vividly and attractively appeal to the reader through his eye, acting in harmony with the watchful eye of the observing poet, whose imagination actively assists her to present a *picture* in appropriately chosen words possessing sound values combined with *colour* suggestiveness. We may, in passing, just point out in this connection how in these lines imagery has its poetic value enhanced by even a very conventional *pattern* of line length and line arrangement which in a way helps the rhythm pattern.

For colour *suggestion* alone we may place here by the side of these lines (quoted in illustration of the poet's use of names of stones with suggestive sound-values all their own) the last 4 lines of the opening stanza of Bridges' remarkable lyric.[28]—"Whither, O splendid ship, thy white sails crowding," reminiscent of Clough's "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?"

"Ah! soon, when Winter has all our vales opprest,
When skies are cold and misty, and hail is hurling,
Wilt thou glide on the blue Pacific, or rest
In a summer haven asleep, thy white sails furling."

By a strange coincidence, we have here too the *blue* water (set over against the white sail). The sound effect of these four lines

[28] "A Passer-by," *Shorter Poems*, Book II, No. 2, page 244. Oxf. Ed. *Vide* page 414, top, of Calcutta Review for September, 1930, where the poem is alluded to.

owes much to alliteration and assonance, which, as distinguished from onomatopaea, aims more at melodiousness than imitation. This *music*, again, of well-chosen poetic diction, is a substitute, as it were, of *meaning* in good lyrics and, though dependent on rhythm, does not like rhythm mostly mark *time* but bring out the *aesthetic* value of word sounds.[42] Besides, rhythm, which is in evidence everywhere in the universe of law and order or harmony, is more an instinctive element of human speech, whereas verse music is a later development achieved by the poet-artist's deliberate craftsmanship. Is it fanciful to suggest in the light of these few observations that Bridges' resolve to replace *syllabic* versification by the *accentual*, may have been determined, however unconsciously or subconsciously, by the well-known principle that quantitative and even the later syllabic sound-values, with their native and innate rhythm, become gradually replaced in the evolution of the race by the more consciously and deliberately adopted *accentual* measure of which the sound significance is determined by the writer's own individual meaning? Accent is a decided *musical* device as much as a means of stressing meaning. The more meaning or significance gains supremacy the greater is the importance attached to this meaning-side of accent, as distinguished from its music-side, and the dominance of *intellectualism* in Bridges' poetry on which we have been harping, we surmise, may have *subconsciously* led the poet to prefer the accentual to the syllabic versification. We do not forget that his *quantitative* experiments weaken the force of our surmise or that he was largely influenced in his *conscious* choice by the Miltonic syllabics to which we have alluded elsewhere. Accent with its *music* element, however, has, perhaps, saved human speech from being reduced to prose, may be, good

[42] While expressing such a view I am fully aware of Miss Katharine M. Wilson's cogent contention so vigorously urged in her penetrating study of "The Real Rhythm in English Poetry," which I value as a really original piece of research and which has considerably unsettled some of my settled convictions.

harmonious prose, at that stage of human progress when *quantitative* values began to decay in course of time or owing to the prevalence of languages or dialects less rich in quantity. We cannot pursue this fascinating subject further, lest it degenerate into too theoretical a discussion or be deemed too much of a digression which will carry us far astray from our main topic.

Mr. J. L. Lowes quotes from Joubert's *Pensées* the admirable observation that " each word reverberates like the note of a well-tuned lyre, and always leaves behind it a multitude of vibrations " ; and then makes the comment :—" For over that which we call the meaning of the words a poet uses, there goes on an incessant play of suggestion [25] caught from *each user's own adventures* among words—flashes that come and vanish, stirrings of memories, unfoldings of vistas—and the poet builds up [26] his fabric out of both the basic meanings and the overtones." [27]

I must note, however, that if Mr. Lowes' view recorded at pages 120-21 of his " Convention and Revolt in Poetry " be completely accepted, Bridges' diction will be open to the charge of faultiness in so far as it contains a large number of words which might not be employed in ordinary speech.[28]

One may pertinently enquire here—Besides, are his words " always penetrated with imaginative quality "? We fervently wish we could unhesitatingly say " yes " in answer to this query. Our deliberate and well-considered opinion is that in this respect Bridges' poetry holds an intermediate position between the impassioned lyric (as that of Sappho, Burns, Shelley or Swinburne) and the keen yet cold satire (say of Juvenal, Voltaire, Swift or Pope). These are two extremes,

[25] *Vide* my remarks on the different functions of prose and poetry in Calcutta Review for October, 1925. page 162, essay on *Contemporary English Poetry.*

[26] This is practically an application of Aristotle's *architechtonic* to a new aspect of poetry.

[27] *Vide* " Convention and Revolt in Poetry, " Ch. V (1930 ed., page 118).

[28] Some of these I have quoted already. *Vide* page 394, Calcutta Review, June, 1930, and pages 121-22 of the July Number.

no doubt. Satire in verse, even when lyricized, is too intellectual. So is the poetry of Bridges—with rare exceptions most of which we have carefully noticed already. At any rate, as in Wordsworth, Arnold, Meredith, and even Hardy, reflection is predominant. If a poet with such a dominance in him is yet, like Bridges, a real artist, a *fashioner* of the first rank, a genuine technician, his diction is saved, no doubt, from degenerating into prose. Yet it may, according to the *maker's* merit, become "subtle with intellectual quality." That, to my mind, is the case with Bridges.

We propose to make quotations or give references to the *New Verse*, as indicated in the September issue of the Calcutta Review, last paragraph (page 436), after having offered a few remarks on Bridges' neologisms, archaisms and scientific terms as well as choice of epithets.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, by H. Hargreaves, Revised Edition, 1930, 111 pages with 10 plates.

Dr. Spooner wrote his Handbook to the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum in 1909. The want of a revised edition of this useful book was already felt in 1918 as the first edition was already exhausted and as the number of sculptures in the Peshawar Museum had doubled in number. The work of revision was entrusted to Mr. Hargreaves and he has done it with much competence. He has not only added a full description of the new acquisitions to the Museum but also appended a valuable chapter on the "History and Art of Gandhara." It is well known that the school of art, to which these sculptures belong, is the Gandhara School which arose under Hellenistic inspiration some time about the Christian Era and flourished in the North-Western districts of India till the time of the Hun invasion. "The highest artistic development seems to have been reached in the 2nd century A.D. and this was followed by a long period of prosperity" (p. 12). Prof. Foucher in his monumental work "*L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*" was the first to deal with the history of this school and its productions in great detail and his work still remains unsurpassed. But we have still need of handbooks written by careful and sober scholars—handbooks which will initiate the layman to the study of Indian art of different schools and help him in recognising its remains preserved in different Museums without difficulty. The present book really satisfies that need about the Peshawar Museum. The introductory chapter on the history of Gandhara and the Gandhara School of art will be of real help to a serious visitor to the Museum as well as to the reader who wants to know some essential facts about the history of that school. The revised edition of the book is therefore a welcome addition to the literature of Handbooks on Indian Art which is still very scanty.

P. C. B.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir, No. 40, Pallava Architecture, Part III (The Later or Rājasiṁha period) by A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, 1930; 27 pages with 13 plates.

Unlike the preceding book the present Memoir is more than a handbook. Its scheme is chronological and it is divided into two chapters, the first of which deals with the architecture of the period beginning about 674 A.D. and ending about 800 A.D. This period has been styled the Rājasiṁha period as he seems to have proved in the first part of his work that a change occurred in the Pallava architecture about the time of Rājasiṁha (Narasiṁhavarman II, *circa* 700 A.D.) when the "Pallavas gave up excavating their religious monuments out of the natural rock and started to build them of stone-brick and plaster." The first chapter describes the ruins of the temples at Mamallapuram, and Kanchipuram. The famous Śiva temple commonly known as the temple of Seven Pagodas on the sea-shore at Mamallapuram, the ancient sea-port of the Pallavas, was built in the 7th century A.D. The two most important temples at Kanchi, modern Conjeeveram,—the Kailāśanātha temple and the Vaikuṇṭha temple were built respectively by Rājasiṁha and his son Parameśvaravarman II (*circa* 715 A.D.). The author gives a detailed description of these two temples in the first chapter of the Memoir. In the second chapter he deals with the period which he calls "the last or Nandivarman period" (*circa* 800-900 A.D.)—a period which was characterised, as the author thinks, by the absence of any definite style. "In the earlier Pallava monuments, an early, intermediate, and a later style, are clearly discernible.....and even when the monuments possessed no inscriptions to guide us, their approximate age could always be determined with some degree of accuracy on architectural grounds. But in this last phase of Pallava architecture, no definite style prevailed to mark the period, and without the aid of inscriptions, their proper classification becomes difficult" (p. 18). It is in other words the period of decline. A number of small Śiva temples belonging to this period has been described. This useful Memoir is on the whole a descriptive catalogue of the important monuments of the Pallava architecture and does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of its different aspects.

P. C. B.

Ourselves

Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1930.

Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.Litt., D.D., has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for the year 1930, to deliver a course of lectures on the "Idea of Progress in Eastern and Western Thought."

* * *

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1930.

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship of the annual value of Rs. 2,000 tenable for three years has been awarded to Mr. Probodhchandra Dasgupta, B.Sc., on the usual conditions.

* * *

Dates for M.B. Examinations.

The 25th of November, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next M.B. Examinations.

* * *

Result of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, August, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in August, 1930 was 4 of whom 3 passed and 1 failed.

* * *

Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1930, was 952 of whom 927 were absent (none appeared at the Calcutta Centre). The number

of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 25 of whom 15 passed and 10 failed. Of the successful candidates none was placed in Class I, and 15 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 60.

* * *

INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD CIRCULAR ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

The Sixteenth International Course in Theory and Practice of the Montessori Method will be held in Rome from the end of January to the end of June, 1931.

Dr. Maria Montessori will direct it in person.

The Course will include the theoretical explanation and practical demonstration of the Method as applied in Infant Schools (Case de Bambani), and also up to Elementary or Preparatory School age.

It will also give the principles for the application of the Method to Religious Education, to small children in the Home, and to pupils in the Secondary School.

The course will consist of theoretical lectures on the Method, held three times a weak ; of practical lessons on the use of didactic material; of sessions of observation, and of individual work.

The lectures will be given in Italian and translated into other languages.

The course is open to all interested in pedagogical problems :—to teachers who wish to apply the Method in their own Schools, to parents who wish to apply them in the home, and also to those who represent educational institutions.

The lectures will be held at 6 P.M. This will allow local teachers to follow the Course after their usual work.

The observation classes will be organised in the Montessori Schools of Rome.

A "*Diploma for teaching children according to the Montessori Method*" will be conferred on those who have attended regularly the complete Course and who passed the required examination.

The Tuition fee for the entire course is £36 (Thirty-six pounds sterling) for foreigners; and 1,000 Lire for Italians and for members of Religious Orders of whatever nationality.

Half the fee must be paid at the time of enrolment, and the other half at the beginning of the Course.

(The management of the course will arrange to find pensions for those who so desire.)

FORM OF ENROLMENT.

(To be sent together with two photographs and visiting card.)

I hereby request that I may be enrolled as a student of the "Sixteenth International Training Course" which will be held in Rome from January to June, 1931.

Full name.....

Permanent address.....

Date of Birth

Nationality.....

Courses of studies already taken.....

.....

Teaching experience (if any)

.....

.....

.....

Date.....

Signature.....

Address :

Headquarters of the

"INTERNATIONAL MONTESSORI TRAINING COURSE"

Via Monte Zobio, 35—Rome (Italy).

* * *

PRESS COMMUNIQUE, DATED THE 4TH JULY, 1930, RECEIVED FROM THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, ARMY DEPARTMENT.

Army and Royal Indian Marine Entrance Examinations, November, 1930.

The next examination for entry to the King's commissioned ranks of the Army and the Royal Indian Marine will be held in Delhi on the 18th November, 1930 and succeeding days. The Examinations will last for about ten days.

1. The examinations will be conducted on the lines detailed in Army Department letter No. 24923-1 (M.T.3), dated the 1st June, 1928 and Marine Department letter No. 258 M., dated the 23rd March, 1929.

2. The following vacancies will be offered to successful Indian and Anglo-Indian candidates who attain the necessary qualifying marks—

Army—

Sandhurst (for Infantry and Cavalry) ...	10
Woolwich (for Engineers, Artillery and Signals)	To be announced later.

R. I. M.—

Executive Branch	3
Engineer Branch	4

3. Army candidates must have attained the age of 18 and must not have attained the age of 20 on the 1st January, 1931. Candidates for the Royal Indian Marine must have attained the age of 17½ and must not have attained the age of 19½ on the 1st November, 1930.

4. Copies of the form of application for permission to appear at the examinations should be obtained by prospective

Army candidates direct from the Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department, Simla. Prospective candidates for the Royal Indian Marine should use the copies of the form of application contained in the "Regulations respecting the recruitment, training, rates of pay, etc., etc., of commissioned officers of the Royal Indian Marine" referred to in paragraph 7 below.

5. If an individual is a candidate for the Royal Indian Marine and is also a candidate for admission to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich or the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, he should specify his order of preference on each application form.

6. The closing date for the receipt of applications will be *the 15th August, 1930.* Under no circumstances whatsoever will any application received after the date receive consideration.

Candidates who sat for the June 1930 Army entrance examination and who, in the event of failure to pass, wish to appear at the November 1930 examination, must, provided they are still within the age limit, submit their applications before the closing date mentioned above. Should they be declared successful at the former examination, their applications to sit at the November 1930 examination will be cancelled.

7. The subjects of the examinations and further detailed information are contained in the pamphlets entitled "Provisional regulations respecting the admission of Indian gentlemen to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, 1928" and "Regulations respecting the recruitment, training, rates of pay, etc., etc., of commissioned officers of the Royal Indian Marine," respectively, which, together with the amendments thereto, should be obtained on payment direct from the Manager, Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta.

AONACH TAILTEANN (THE TAILTEANN GAMES) TO TAKE PLACE IN DUBLIN, IN AUGUST, 1931.

We have been requested to give publicity to the following notice and to inform intending candidates that the competitions are open to all persons of Irish birth or descent, no matter where resident, and that Entry Forms may be obtained from the Secretary, Aonach Tailteann, 1, Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin (Ireland).

Literary Awards and Competitions, 1931.

A

National Literary Awards.

The Board of adjudication of the Literary Section of Aonach Tailteann will make four awards at the Aonach of 1931 in the following classes :—

(1) Imaginative Prose.
(2) Poetry.
(3) Scholarship—History and Criticism.
(4) ,, —Science and Philosophy.

These awards, which are not subject to competition, will be made from amongst the works of authors, eligible under Rule 2, which have been printed and published since April 1st, 1928.

B

The Literary Competitions.

The competitions open, in Irish[1] or any other language, for the third Aonach Tailteann to be held in August, 1931, are :—

(1) Poetry. (2) Drama.
(3) Novel. (4) Short Story.

1 For entries in Irish apply for separate Entry Form.

(5) Other Prose Literature. (6) Special Medal: A work on the Patrician Period.

The Tailteann Medal is offered for the best entry in each of the foregoing classes. A second or third medal may be awarded in any class at the discretion of the Board of Adjudication.

All persons qualified under Rule 2 (quoted below) of the General Conditions of Aonach Tailteann are eligible to compete.

The results of the Literary Competitions will be announced at Aonach Tailteann. Successful competitors may be obliged to satisfy the Committee that they are eligible under Rule 2 for the competition.

All entries must reach the Literary Committee on or before April 1st, 1931, and no entry will be accepted after that date.

Entries may be made in all the classes, but only one entry can be made in any one class. Competitors must supply one printed copy of published work. In all other cases typescript must be submitted.

In the case of published work, including plays, no work printed and published prior to April 1st, 1928, is eligible, but unpublished work of any date, which has not hitherto received a Tailteann award, is eligible. In section 2 (Drama) plays written or produced at any time but not printed prior to April 1st, 1928, are eligible if they have not hitherto received a Tailteann award.

The name and address of the competitor must be written on the work submitted and on the accompanying *Entry Form*. Care will be taken to return all MSS., but the Literary Committee cannot be held responsible for their safety, and *competitors should retain a copy*.

Entry Form

To the Literary Committee,
Aonach Tailteann,
Dublin.

I enter..... in $\frac{\text{typescript}}{\text{published work}}$

form for the Literary Competition B.....[2] of Aonach Tailteann, 1931, and agree to accept the decision of the adjudicators.

Name.....

Full Address.....

.....

I declare I am eligible under Rule 2 of the General Conditions of Aonach Tailteann, which is as follows: "The International Sections shall be open to all persons of Irish descent."

Signed.....

* * *

THE NATIONAL UNION OF INDIAN STUDENTS (ABROAD).

The National Union of Indian Students, in collaboration with the International Students' Service, the National Union of French Students, and the World's Students' Christian Federation, have now completed part of the arrangements for the reception of new arrivals from India.

The present arrangements cover the main seaport of Marseilles and the important centres of London, Paris, New York, and Berlin. Within a short time it is expected that similar arrangements will be completed at Venice and Genoa. At Marseilles the National Union of Indian Students has deputed one of its Secretaries, Mr. P. D. Runganadhan, for

[2] Insert number of class in which you compete, thus, 1, 2 or 3, etc.

a period of three months, ending October, which is the most important part of the year from the point of view of Indian student arrivals. The new arrivals will be met at the boat by representatives of the National Union of French Students, acting on our behalf, who will take charge of them and arrange for their temporary accommodation at Cannebiere, Marseilles, during their stay in port. They will also arrange for letters of introduction in suitable cases, and for travel through France. The Club House is a commodious place, well furnished and equipped, providing food and accommodation at not much more than nominal cost.

Mr. Runganadhan will advise the new arrivals about the arrangements in the centres to which they are bound. In the case of those going direct to London, Berlin, Paris, or New York, it is requested that the Secretary of N. U. I. S. in London should be informed. In every case it is important to give as long notice as possible, as well as relevent particulars.

The Secretaries will be glad to furnish any information and be of any further help to the best of their ability.

All communications to be addressed to Mr. P. D. Runganadhan, National Union of Indian Students, 115, La Cannebiere, Marseilles, France.

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Rabindranath Tagore in Munich.

We have received the following brief account and are happy to be able to insert it.

The Deutsche Akademie of Munich has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore had been in Munich and was given a wonderful ovation by almost all the representative bodies of the capital of Bavaria. The poet is now making a tour in Germany in response to the numerous invitations from every part of the country. Previous to his visit to Munich, the poet had been

in Berlin and Dresden, where his lectures and pictures (presented at an exhibition) were highly appreciated.

This is the poet's second visit to Munich. The profound feeling of respect and admiration which stirred the whole population of Munich nine years ago, when he first set foot in Munich, is still fresh in every one's memory. Times have changed; the post-war agony of Germany in 1921 has now given way to the grim joy of rebuilding in the face of thousand difficulties, but Rabindranath's place in the heart of the German public remains unchanged, as was amply proved by the events of the last month.

Following the invitation of the International Students' Association, Rabindranath reached Munich on the 19th July, early in the morning, and was received at the station by Geheimrat Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld of the India Institute of the "Deutsche Akademie" and representatives of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle and the Hindusthan Club of Munich. A member of the last-mentioned body, Dr. Kalipada Basu, garlanded the poet at the station in right oriental fashion.

The same day in the afternoon the poet motored to Oberammergau through Ettal, where he visited the famous monastery, situated in the midst of idyllic natural surroundings. The whole of the next day was spent in Oberammergau, where the poet attended the world famous Passion Play. True to their oath, the bearded and untutored peasants of this unassuming village in South Bavaria, have staged the life of Christ at the regular interval of ten years during the last three hundred years as a mark of gratitude to God who saved them from a devastating pestilence in the year 1633, and such is the success of their spontaneous flow of piety and devotion that even Rabindranath, one of the greatest creative minds of the world in the field of art patiently watched the performance from 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening when it came to an end and bore testimony to the fact that the Oberammergau Passion Play is really enchanting.

The same evening the poet returned to Munich.

On Monday, 21st of July, the poet received some of the distinguished personalities of Munich including several renowned professors of the Munich University, those representative men of our country, who in all cases voice forth the true sentiment of Germany. Notable among those present were Geheimrat Professor Foerster, Geheimrat Prof. Schermann and others.

In the afternoon Rabindranath paid a visit to the International Students' Home, where in course of a short speech he drew a parallel between the Students' Organisations in India and in Germany and compared the emphatic creeds which now obtain among the Indian students to the generous idealism of the German Youth Movement. It came not as a surprise ; for, the Indian students are not generally known in Germany to be devoid of the sentiments of Idealism, nor are the German students in any sense free from the mire of political strife.

In the evening the poet delivered a lecture on the principles of art in the Auditorium Maximum of the Munich University. In spite of the exorbitant price of the tickets the big hall was full, and even though the poet spoke in English he was perfectly understood by the audience, and every stroke of humour in his speech was accompanied by signs of appreciation.

Rabindranath spoke for about one hour and a half. The guiding principle in art, he said, should never be anything subjective. Every individual is unique, but at the same time a unit of the Universe, an inseparable part of the whole. To place the individual unit in this universal perspective is, according to Rabindranath, the function of the true artist. The speech, needless to say, made a deep impression and was highly spoken of in all the Munich papers.

On the next day too the poet had to go through a busy programme. In the morning he was invited by his Excellency Oskar von Miller, the founder of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. The poet reached the museum towards midday and his Excellency showed him personally for three hours some of

the most interesting collections in his Museum. The exhausting tour through the museum was followed by a sumptuous meal in the beautifully decorated dining-saloon, at which many distinguished professors, and some Indian students of Munich were present. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, of the Calcutta University, who is also a member of the Technische Hocschule, Munich, was also present. The convivial gathering broke up towards 4 in the afternoon. At 7 in the evening Rabindranath was officially received by the Mayor of Munich inthe town-hall where the poet entered his name in the town-register.

From the town hall the poet came directly to the Studentenhaus where the Deutsche Akademie had organised a feast in his honour. The main feature of the evening was the staging of Tagore's very popular drama " Post Office" by the German students. After Geheimrat Friedrich von Muller, President of the Deutsche Academie, had introduced the poet to the audience, Rabindranath in his short reply expressed his appreciation of the honour thus paid to him and in a few words tried to explain the underlying idea of his " Post Office." The play was successful beyond all expectations. Many among the audience were visibly moved and all were enraptured. After the play it was some time before the poet could be freed from the army of autograph-hunters.

On the following day (23rd July) Rabindranath sprung a surprise on the Munich public. The news that the poet Tagore was exhibiting some of his pictures in the Gallery Gaspary came really as a pleasant surprise to all. Punctually at half past eleven the elite of the society of Munich were gathered in Gallery Gaspary to hear the opening speech of the poet. In his short but beautiful speech Rabindranath said that his poems cannot be translated into a foreign language in their true form, for all good poetry loses in the process its subtle suggestion and lyrical atmosphere. But pictures require no translation—their appeal is direct. " My poetry is for my countrymen," said he, "my paintings are my gift to the West." The most

remarkable feature of these pictures was their technique. It is quite European. The poet remarked that he is proud of this fact, for this shows that he has been successful at least to some extent, in bringing about in himself a union of the spirit of the East and the West.

This was the last public function of the poet in Munich. Next day early in the morning he left for Franckfurt. The newspaper comments on Rabindranath were throughout sympathetic and favourable but here and there a dissenting voice was heard. Some papers commented that the poet aims too much at a scenic effect, but all had to admit, that, if at all, the fault in this respect lies not with the poet himself, but rather with those, whose business it is only to make a fuss of him.

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Here is a short list of *some* of the articles that were published in the *Review* during the last few months :

1. Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy.
2. German Thought of To-day.
3. System of Education in Germany with special reference to the study of Oriental Languages.
4. Jainism, its historical importance and its relations to other religions of the world.
5. The Social Atmosphere of present Jainism.
6. Early Life of Buddha.
7. The Reform of Calcutta University.

8. Britons and Bengalis.
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10. Societal Speculation in Eur-America with special reference to Economics and Politics.
11. History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.
12. The Agricultural Land in Ancient India.
13. Slavery in Ancient India.
14. Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.
15. India and the British Commonwealth of Nation.
16. Purchase of Sterling.
17. Nehru Committee's Report.
18. Some Observations on the High Price of Food Grains in India.
19. Germany, Ten years after the World War.
20. Early Bank Note Issues and their Lessons.
21. Early Phases of the History of Independence as it developed in the British Colonies of North America.
22. Transferability of Occupancy Holdings in Bengal.
23. Regeneration of Rural Bengal.
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25. The Fascist Movement in Italy.
26. The Republic of China.
27. Anglo-American Relations and India.
28. The Problem of Indian National Defence.
29. Indo-Persian Architecture.
30. Popular Control of the Purse.
31. Why America has become so great?
32. The Ninth Section of the Regulating Act of 1773.
33. The Making of a Nation.
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35. The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks.
36. Study of Indian Currency.
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38. Instalment Credit System in America.

39. The Bengal Landholder—Sub-division, Fragmentation and Sub-Infeudation.
40. The Indian States and Mints and Coinage.
41. Problem of a Second Chamber in India.
42. The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.
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44. A Birds' eye-view of Dutch Railways.
45. Report of the Indian States Committee.
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47. The Twelfth Session of the International Labour Conference.
48. New Concepts of Matter and Radiation.
49. Education does not pay.
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66. Lyrics from Elizabethan Dramatists.
67. Essays on Chaucer.
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69. Thomas Hardy.

70. The East in English Literature.
71. What is Poetry?
72. Italian Literature.
73. King Lear.
74. The Art of Maeterlinck.
75. Beethoven at home.
76. Music and Musicians.
77. Hindu Religious Festivals and their Music.
78. The Dialogue as an Instrument of Literary Criticism.
79. Brahms and his Music.
80. The Moral order in the Shakespearian Tragedy.
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82. A Manx Poet.
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90. Universality of Poetry.
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106. Law and the other Sciences.
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109. Raja Rammohan Ray.
110. The March of the History of Philosophy.
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155. Saṁkara on the nature of the Subject.
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157. Grammar and its Critics.
158. Popular Elements in the Purānas.
159. Two Savants.
160. Thoughts on Progress.
161. India's Political Crisis.
162. Banker's Bank for India.

etc., etc., etc.

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Development of Indian Railways, *with eight maps,* explaining the different aspects of the growth of Railway in India, by Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Royal 8vo. pp. 397 + xvi.

Some Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya [natha] and Asanga, *Readership Lectures,* by Prof. G. Tucci, Member of the Royal Academy of Italy. Demy 8vo. pp. 88.

Food—*Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures for 1929,* by Rai Chunilal Bose, Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S. Demy 8vo. pp. 117.

Studies in Indian History, by Dr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), B.Litt. (Oxon.). Demy 8vo. pp. 266 + ix.

The Agrarian System in Ancient India—*Readership Lectures,* by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Demy 8vo. pp. 123 + viii. Rs. 2-8.

Lectures on the Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal, by Sir William Willcocks. Demy 8vo. pp. 128. Rs. 1-8.

BOOKS IN THE PRESS IN OCTOBER, 1930.

1. Dynastic History of Northern India, by Dr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

2. History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, by Prof. M. Winternitz, translated into English by Mrs. S. Ketkar.

3. Siddhanta-Sekhara, edited by Pandit Babua Misra, Jyotishacharyya.

4. Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XXI.

5. Surya-Siddhanta, edited with notes by Mr. Phanindralal Ganguli, M.A., P.R.S.

6. Asoka, by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

7. Deshinamamala, edited with Notes by Pandits Muralidhar Banerjee, M.A. and Haragobinda Das Sett.

8. Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. IV, Part I, edited with Introduction and Notes by Rai Dineschandra Sen, Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt.

9. Adwaita-Brahma-Siddhi, Part II, edited by Mahamahopadhyay Gurucharan Tarka-Darshantirtha and Pandit Panchanan Tarkabagis.

10. Calcutta Mathematical Society Commemoration Volume.

11. Collected Geometrical Papers, Part II, by Prof. Syamadas Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D.

12. Vedanta—Its place as a System of Metaphysics, by Dr. N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D.

13. Mundari-English Dictionary, by Manindrabhusan Bhaduri.

14. University Question Papers for the year 1929.

15. Manoelda Assampeaos Bengali Grammar, edited by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), and Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A.

16. The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought, by Prof. D. C. Macintosh.

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19. Some Bengal Villages and Economic Survey, by Mr. Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A., and L. A. Nateson, M.A.

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21. Lectures on the Mean Value Theorem of the Differential Calculus, by Prof. Ganesh Prasad, D.Sc.

22. The Land Problem of India, by Prof. Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

VII. LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. GRAMMARS, &c.

Sabda-sakti-Prakasika, by Pandit Jagadisa Tarkalankara. Part I. Demy 8vo. pp. 158. Rs. 1-6.

Selections from Avesta and Old Persian. First Series Part I, by I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Comparative Philology, Calcutta University. Demy 8vo. pp. 255. Rs. 6-0.

Arranged on a most convenient plan—the text in Roman letters, with a literal English translation on the page opposite, each text and translation being followed by elaborate linguistic and other notes—the book is intended primarily for students of Sanskrit. No finished Sanskritist can do without some acquaintance with Avestan, and Dr. Taraporewala's book, already adopted for class work in several European Universities, is by far the best chrestomathy of Avesta. The Selections have been highly praised by distinguished scholars like *Profs. Rapson, Alfred Hillebrandt, L. D. Barnett, Otto Jesperson, J. Jolly, F. O. Schrader, A. B. Keith, Hermann Jacobi, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Sir George A. Grierson, Rev. Father R. Zimmermann,* and others.

Prof. V. Lesny, University of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia :—" Your book is very useful and very valuable. I shall not fail to recommend it to my students in Europe, as the selection is good, the translation correct, literal (what I very much appreciate) and faithful."

Sir George A. Grierson, Director of Linguistic Survey of India :—" I have been reading it with great interest and must congratulate you on the production of so scholarly a work. I am looking forward to the publication of the second part.....The notes are to me most valuable, and form an admirable introduction to the comparative study of Iranian and Indian languages."

Prof. J. Jolly, University of Wurzburg, Bavaria :—" It must be translated into German, it is far superior to the other Avesta Readers and has made the study of Avesta comparatively easy."

Dr. F. W. Thomas, India Office Library, London :—" It seems to me to be just what was wanted for the serious University study of Iranian, and I hope that it will be used both in England and in America, as well as in India. Your notes are very full and accurate and supply all that is required, while your general views are marked by moderation and reasonableness."

2. BENGALI

The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, by Sunitikumar Chatterji, M.A. (Cal.), D.Lit. (London), *Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics and Lecturer in English and Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta.* With a Foreword by Sir George Abraham Grierson, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.), Director of the Linguistic Survey of India.

In two Vols., F'cap 4to. 1926

Vol. I—Introduction and Phonology, pp. i-xci, 1-648.

Vol. II—Morphology, Additions and Corrections, and Index of Bengali Words, pp. 649-1179

Two Vols., Cloth-bound, Uncut Edges. Rs. 20.

This long-expected work, which took over three years to print, had at last been published by the University of Calcutta (September, 1926). " This admirable work," says Sir George Grierson in his *Foreword*, " which is a fine example of wide knowledge and of scholarly research, is the result of a happy combination of proficiency in facts and familiarity with theory, and exhibits a mastery of detail controlled and ordered by the sobriety of true scholarship " In its MS. form the work was read by and obtained the highest approval of some of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Indian Linguistics in Europe, and it may be said to indicate a land-mark in the history of philological researches into Indian Languages. It is the first systematic and detailed history of a Modern Indo-Aryan Language written by an Indian, and incidentally, as it is comparative in its treatment, taking into consideration facts in other Indo-Aryan speeches, it is an invaluable contribution to the scientific study of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages as a whole.

The Bengali words have throughout been given in Bengali as well as in Roman characters.

Sir George Grierson, on receipt of the complete work, writes to the University : You are good enough to ask for my opinion of the book. May I refer you to the opinion expressed by me in the Foreword prefixed to the first volume. I have nothing to add to this, and here content myself with repeat-

ing my high appreciation of a work based on accurate knowledge, and inspired by the principles of true science. It is a source of much gratification to me that it has appeared as a worthy ornament of the University with which for many years it was my honour to be associated as a Fellow.

Prof. Jules Bloch, of the University of Paris : As to my opinion on the book I shall deem it a duty to give it at length in scholarly periodicals, *viz.*, ' Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris ' or ' Journal Asiatique,' for instance; for the present I may assure you that this time at least the generosity of your University in printing that book has not been in vain; it will honour the University and Indian scholarship very much. It is the first book of that amplitude and depth devoted by an Indian to an Indian language; I should wish to see more of the same sort : but I fear there are not many people yet endowed with the same gifts and the same knowledge and method as Prof. Chatterji.

Prof. L. D. Barnett, of the British Museum and the University of London: It was a great pleasure to me to receive this fine volume, in which the studies begun here are so happily completed. It is a work of extremely high importance and value, establishing on a firm basis the principles of the history of the Bengali language, and serving as a model for future researches in other languages of India.

Prof. Sten Konow, of Oslo, Norway : I sincerely congratulate you on your achievement. You have brought out a really first-class work, and it would be impossible for any European scholar to bring out anything so full of information from the most various and partly quite inaccessible sources. Your penetration of the subject is admirable, and you prove to have mastered Western methods to perfection.

Dr. F. W. Thomas, of the India Office Library and the University of London : The very welcome copy of your great book has now come, and before I am swallowed up again in other pre-occupations, I hasten to write to you my cordial thanks. I have begun the perusal; but a full absorption of the contents will plainly be a work of some time. I propose, however, to write to you later. At present I can do little more than congratulate you upon the completion of an enormous task, to which you have brought a thoroughly scientific method and an extraordinary special competence. I feel sure that all those great lights in the fields of General and Indian Philology whose most perfected doctrines you so ably and judiciously studied in Europe, will be gratified by the abundant fruit realised through your independent application of them to your mother-tongue. The book contains abundant new material for them all. It is, in fact, bewildering in its extent and in the complexity of the factors which have had to be taken into consideration.

Prof. R. L. Turner, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London : I have long been looking forward to its appearance, and the book comes up to my best hopes. It is a very fine achievement, and marks the beginning of a new chapter in the study of Indo-Aryan Languages.

Prof. M. Winternitz, of the German University of Prague, Czecho-Slovakia : I have read with great interest the learned Introduction which forms almost one-fourth of the work, and which treats, in a masterly manner, not only the history of Bengali, but also the history of Indo-Aryan speech from the earliest times down to the present day. The author is thoroughly familiar with the Western methods of philological-historical investigation, and at the same time has a knowledge of linguistic facts which no European scholar could ever hope to acquire. Both the author himself and the University of Calcutta are heartily to be congratulated on the publication of this masterpiece of Indian philology.

Prof. Jean Przyluski, of the University of Paris : Cet ouvrage fait le plus grand honneur à son auteur et à l' Université de Calcutta. Ceux qui s' intéressent aux études de Grammaire comparée et tous les indianistes se réjouissent de trouver décrit, dans un exposé magistral, le développement d'une des langues les plus importantes pour l'histoire de la civilisation indienne.

Prof. A. C. Woolner, Principal, Oriental College, and Dean, University Instruction, Punjab University : This is the most valuable piece of work that has been published by the University of Calcutta, at any rate in the departments where I can form any opinion. I consider Dr. Chatterji's book to be an important contribution not merely to the history of the Bengali language but also to the history of the Indo-Aryan languages in general. In this direction it is the first important step taken since the publication of Prof. Bloch's work on Marathi. Dr. Chatterji's work is also remarkable as being a systematic examination of the history of an Indian language based upon a thorough study of Phonetics, and indeed from that point of view he has broken new ground over a wider area going back sometimes to the Vedic period. There are many controversial questions on which Dr. Chatterji has touched and on several of such points I find myself in agreement with him We have here material for more than one book.

Prof. G. Tucci, of the University of Rome, concludes his appreciative review of the work in the *Modern Review* for January, 1927, with the following words : To sum up : We can say that the work by Prof. Chatterji is the first scientific contribution of Modern India to linguistic studies. With his work the author has shown the way how to work, to his younger countrymen who are inclined to this line of research.

Prof. J. Wackernagel, of the University of Basel, Switzerland : Your work is really admirable and worth to be named beside those of Beames and Bloch. You are to be congratulated upon your being now one of the leaders in the application by Indian scholars of the historical and comparative method on Indian languages.

Prof. Heinrich Lüders, of Berlin : In my opinion it is one of the most important publications of the last year in the whole field of Indian studies. Your excellent work is an immense advance in this direction (study of the development of the Aryan speech in India). A work like this requires a scholar trained in the methods of comparative philology and thoroughly familiar with the language itself, and you have shown on every page that you possess those qualifications in an eminent degree and moreover combine them with sound criticism. I have no doubt that I shall derive much help from your work for my grammar of the epigraphical Prakrits and especially for my reconstruction of the spoken Magadhi of the 3rd Century B.C.....For the present I wish only to congratulate you most heartily in the completion of your masterly work.

Professor Helmuth Von Glasenapp, Prof. of Indic Philology, Berlin University : Allow me to congratulate your University on giving to the world such a momentous work.

Dr. Truman Michelson, of the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, U.S.A. : It is a truly great work and the author is to be congratulated for his ripe scholarship.....I sincerely hope that Dr. Chatterji will have ample opportunity to continue his work and make even more important contributions to Indo-Aryan Philology that he already has done.

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History of Bengali Language, by Bijaychandra Mazumdar, B.L., Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the University of Calcutta. *Second Edition.* 1927. Demy 8vo. pp. 323. Rs. 7-0.

The book gives a sketch, in broad outline, of the origin of the Bengali Language and the various influences—linguistic, ethnic, social—that shaped and moulded its earlier history

In reviewing this book in the J R A S (1923, p 443) **Dr L. D. Barnett** writes:—'Mr Mazumdar's work on account of its learning, vigorous style, and bold deviation from currently accepted doctrine deserves a fuller notice than can be accorded to it here Opening with a stout denial of Sir G Grierson's theory of the origin of Aryan vernaculars he maintains their derivation from the Vedic Language, and explains their variations as due to the influence of Non Aryan speech, mainly Dravidian; in particular, Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are in his opinion all primarily evolved from one and the same Eastern Magadhi Prakrit and the first two have been influenced in a secondary degree by Dravidian Speech To us the most attractive Chapters are II—IV on the names Vanga and Bangla, the geography of ancient Bangla, with the connected regions Gauda, Radha, and Vanga VI on Bengali phonology and VIII—IX, a fine study of accent in Sanskrit and Bengali and of the Bengali metrical system, which is of especial value as the author himself has won high distinction as a poet in his native language On the whole it may be said that the book is most stimulating and suggestive and that it presents a remarkable mass of interesting facts relating to modern Bengali."

History of Bengali Language and Literature (in English), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 1067. 1911. Rs. 16-12.

A comprehensive view of the development of the Bengali Language and Literature from the earliest times down to 1850 This book has very little affinity with the author's epoch-making Bengali work on the same subject, the arrangement adopted in the present work being altogether new and the latest facts, not anticipated in the Bengali treatise, having been incorporated in it It has been accepted by orientalists everywhere as the most complete and authoritative work on the subject The book is illustrated by many pictures including five coloured ones

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From a long review by *H. Kern* in the *Bijdragen of the Royal Institute for Taal* (translated by Dr. Kern himself) : " Fruit of investigation carried through many years.....highly interesting book.....the reviewer has all to admire in the pages of the work nothing to criticise, for his whole knowledge is derived from it."

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Bengali Ramayanas, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 335. Rs. 7-8.

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Chaitanya and His Age (*Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures for 1919 and 1921*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Demy 8vo. pp. 453. 1922. Rs. 6-0.

The book gives a complete and consistent history of Chaitanya, his religious views, and of the sects that follow his religion, with an account of the condition of Bengal before the advent of the great subject of the memoirs. Everything dealt with in the book is based on old authority.

Chaitanya and His Companions, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 341. Rs. 2-0.

The book presents short life-sketches of Sri Chaitanya and his Bhaktas wih a general history of the Vaishnava doctrine and a comparative study of mysticism (occidental and oriental).

Bengali Prose Style, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 184. 1921. Rs. 4-4.

The book throws light on the linguistic features of the earliest period of our modern prose literature (1800 to 1857) and gives many interesting specimens of the ever-changing forms of our progressive speech. In fact, it is a history of the evolution of modern Bengali Prose.

Vanga-Sahitya-Parichaya or Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. In two parts. Royal 8vo. pp. 2087. 1914. Rs. 16-12.

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Eastern Bengal Ballads—Mymensingh, Vol. I, Part I, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo. In two parts, complete in 900 pages. 1926. Rs. 7-8.

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Do. Vol. III, Part I (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. (with one tri-colour and 23 one-colour illustrations). Royal 8vo. pp. 510. 1928. Rs. 6-0.

Eastern Bengal Ballads (Maimansingha Gitika), Vol. I, Part II. 1923. Rs. 5-0.

Purva-Banga Gitika, Vol. II, Part II (*Edited with Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. (with 21 illustrations). Royal 8vo. pp. 585. 1926. Rs. 5-0.

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Kavikankan Chandi, Part I, Edited by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, Charuchandra Banerjee and Hrishikesh Basu. Royal 8vo. pp. 685. 1925. Rs. 6-0.

In the preface of the book there is an interesting account of the original manuscripts of the Chandikavya preserved in the temple of Singhabahini attached to the house of the poet at Ramunya. The present edition which is based on a copy of the original manuscripts brings the poem up to the story of Kalaketu

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Chandimangala-bodhini or Notes on Kavikankan-Chandi. Part I, by Charuchandra Banerjee. Royal 8vo. pp. 672. 1925. Rs. 6-0.

In this book the author, who is also one of the joint-editors of the text of Kavikankan Chandi, has given a very elaborate commentary on Part I of the text already published by the University.

Do. Part II, by the same author. Royal 8vo. pp. 425. Rs. 4-8.

Govindadas's Karcha (*Edited with elaborate Introduction and Notes*), by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Royal 8vo. pp. 103. 1926. Rs 1-8.

Gopichandra, Part I, Edited by Bisweswar Bhattacharyya, B.A., Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt., and Basantaranjan Ray, Bidvatballav. Royal 8vo. pp. 311. 1922. Rs. 4-8.

Do. Part II. Royal 8vo. pp. 434. 1924. Rs. 6-0.

It is a recension of the story of Raja Gopichandra, one of the greatest pre-Moslem legends of Bengal, as taken down from oral recitation in Northern Bengal. The text has been supplemented by different other recensions from Bengal, as printed by other scholars.

Early Bengali Prose, by S. R. Mitra. Demy 8vo. pp. 184. Rs. 3-0.

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Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century (*Premchand Roychand Studentship thesis, 1917*), by S. K. De, M.A., D.Lit. Demy 8vo. pp. 530. 1919. Rs. 8-6.

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The Origin of Bengali Script (*Jubilee Research Prize, 1913*), by Rakhaldas Banerjee, M.A. Demy 8vo. pp. 122. 1919. Rs. 3-0.

The book gives a history of the development of the Bengali alphabet. It is a valuable contribution to Indian Palæography.

Glimpses of Bengal Life, by Rai Bahadur Dineschandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Demy 8vo. pp. 321. Rs. 4-0.

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CONTENTS

	Page.
British Imperialism in India—Taraknath Das, A.M., Ph.D.	143
The Spirit of Italian Literature—G. Tucci, University of Rome	165
The Drum-Song (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland	178
Shakespeare's Sonnets—The First Interpretation—Katharine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., Aberdeen, Scotland	179
The Voice (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland	197
The Future of our Foreign Exchange Banks—B. Ramchandra Rau, M.A.	198
The Spell (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland	208
A Critical Examination of Locke's Theory of Relations—M. R. Annand, Ph.D.	209
Federalism—Naresh Chandra Ray, M.A.	230
Hibiscus (*Poem*)—Lily Strickland	251
Knowledge and Self-knowledge—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Barrister-at-Law	252
History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company—Parimal Ray, M.A., London ...	265
Aspects of Bengali Song—Mohini Mohan Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	280
Henrik Ibsen—K. R. Srinivas Iyengar	286
On Sentiment—C. L. R. Sastri	301
Do you believe in the Fairies ? (*Poem*)—Cherry Jalass ...	305
The Dream of Hour (*Poem*)—Leland J. Berry ...	306
A Japanese Temple—A. Caillet-Baxter	307
Turbervile's Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets—Louise A. Nelson, M.A.	309
Matter, Method and Moral Education—G. S. Krishnayya, Ph.D.	314
A Critical Study of the Layton Report—Prakaschandra Mallik, M.A.	320
Muiopotmos—Louise A. Nelson, M.A.	333
Along the Canal (*Poem*)—Jinkichi Matsuda	341

Page.

The Ashar Cloud—H. Bhattacharyya, M.A. ... 342
Life and Letters—Prof. Jaygopal Banerjee, M.A. ... 344

REVIEWS :

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai—A. Guha 371
Karmayoga—Harimohan Bhattacharyya 371
A Short History of Kashmir from earliest time to the Present Day—A. Guha 372
A Higher English Grammar—Priyaranjan Sen 373
Vyathā o Vedanā—P. S. 373
Baladitya: A Historical Romance of Ancient India—Priyaranjan Sen 374
The Heroines of Ancient Persia—M. K. Shirazi ... 377

OURSELVES :

The Late Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee 378
Sir C. V. Raman and the Nobel Prize 379
Sir Jagadishchandra Bose 381
India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie secures a special fellowship for a distinguished Medical Scholar ... 381
Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1930 383
The Anauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1930 ... 383
The Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for 1930 383
Result of the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, September, 1930 383
Dates of University Examinations, 1931 384
Rules and Regulations for the Indian Civil Service Examination for January, 1931 384

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BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

It is often asserted by many British scholars as well as those of other lands who wish to please British authorities for some special interests of their own, that Great Britain secured control over India accidentally, and the sole purpose of the British Government's insistence to rule India is to serve the people and the cause of humanity and civilization. It is needless to say that no honest Englishman and certainly no Indian—moderate, constitutionalist, nationalist or revolutionist—believes in Britain's mission of philanthropy in India. The following candid statement of a member of the British Cabinet throws considerable light on the motive underlying British solicitude for India :—

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. *That is cant.* We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Shame.) Call shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold

India for Indians. We hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular." [1]

British domination of India is the best example of modern imperialism. In 1600 when the East India Company, with the royal support, started its adventures in the Orient, particularly in India, it was purely a commercial enterprise, making large profits was its motive. At that time it was not trying to establish political supremacy of the British in India or any other part of the Orient. With the growth of the East India Company in India, British influence spread in various parts of the Orient. It was Dupleix, the Governor of the French trading posts and possessions in India, who originated the bold and systematic plan of employing Indian man-power and money to build up a vast colonial empire for France. He intrigued to further civil wars then raging among the Indian Princes in order to take advantage of the situation.[2] Needless to say that the British were also parties to such intrigues.

The British and French fought in India as a part of the Anglo-French Wars of the eighteenth century in Europe, America and the Orient for world supremacy. The French were defeated about 1757. Since the defeat of the army of the Nawab of Bengal by Clive at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British have become progressively masters of India and through India of practically the entire region from Egypt to China.[3]

As a matter of fact, the economic conquest of India by the East India Company preceded the political conquest. The

[1] An extract from the speech of Sir W. Jonyson-Hicks, the ex-Home Secretary of the British Cabinet (Baldwin Government), quoted in the Indian Social Reformer of November 28th, 1925.

[2] Col. Malleson : Dupleix and the Struggle for India by European Nations, Oxford University Press.

[3] (*a*) Seely, Sir J. R. : Expansion of England. Boston. Little Brown & Co., 1922. (*b*) Das, Taraknath : India in World Politics. New York. 1923. B. W. Heubsch & Co., 1923. (*c*) Basu, Maj. B. D. : Rise of Christian Power in India, Vols. 1-5, Calcutta, R. Chatterjee, 1924. (*d*) Roberts, P. E. : History of British India, Oxford University Press.

characteristic feature of the political conquest was that the East India Company did not undertake it until it had secured an economic grip upon the country. As alien as Alexander's army, it did not impose political authority until it acquired economic authority. It insinuated itself into Indian life before it seized the Indian Government. Its first concern was nothing more than to secure free trade, a peaceable residence and high esteem of the Indian rulers. From that everything else followed.[1] The officials of the East India Company did not hesitate to adopt all kinds of questionable methods—forgery, bribing, treachery, plundering, intrigue and fomenting civil wars among Indian Princes, etc.—to gain their end of acquiring political power.[2]

When the East India Company assumed the ruling power, it developed its own tariff system. Protection in favour of Great Britain and tariff against India was the underlying principle. By this policy "a great impulse was communicated to British commerce and industry and the objects of British national policy was accomplished, but their effects on Indian trade were disastrous."[3] The fiscal policy towards India during the rule of the East India Company is characterised in the following account:—

"In 1787, cotton manufactures from India were subject to a duty of 50 per cent. except dimity and calicoes which paid 16½ per cent. Additions to the rates were subsequently made, and in 1799 some classes of cotton goods paid duty at the rate of 122 per cent. In 1819 the duty on many descriptions of Indian goods was as high as 271½ per cent. But injustice did not end with high duties. The importation into Great Britain of many classes of goods from India, such as embroidered shawls,

[1] MacDonald, J. Ramsay: The Government of India. New York. B. W. Heubsch & Co., 1920, p. 30.

[2] (a) Burke, Edmund: Impeachment of Warren Hastings. (b) Maitra, A. K.: Clive, the Forger (a Bengalee work of great value), Calcutta. (c) Basu: Rise of Christian Power in India.

[3] Banerjea, Prof. Pramathanath: Fiscal Policy in India. Macmillan & Co., London, p. 15.

handkerchiefs, coloured muslins, velvets, silk, crepe, chintz and calico towels with colored borders was absolutely prohibited."[1] On the other hand, British manufacturers employed the arm of political injustice "to keep down and strangle a competitor with whom they could not have contended on equal terms." The late eminent British historian, H. H. Wilson wrote:—"Had India been independent she would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods and would have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. The act of self-defense was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger."[2]

After the so-called Sepoy Munity of 1857, which was really a national uprising for Indian Independence[3] which was put down with the most ruthless massacre of innocent civil population of India, by the British Army, the rule of the East India Company was abolished and the Government of India was transferred to the British crown. A British student of the history of the Sepoy Mutiny—Mr. Edward Thompson—has in his recent work, given some account of British barbarism. The following passages will give some idea of British atrocities in India. The late Lord Roberts, who was then a subaltern and took an active part in the suppression of the Mutiny, wrote in his diary: "*When a prisoner was brought in, I am the first one to call out to have him hanged.*"

"The executions of Natives were indiscriminate to the last degree... In two days forty-two men were hanged on the roadside and a batch of twelve men were executed because their faces were turned the wrong way, when they were met on the march. *All the villages in his front were burnt when he halted.* These severities would not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre, because they took place before the diabolical act..."

1 (*a*) *Ibid*, pages 19-20. (*b*) Accounts and Papers relative to East India Trade. House of Commons, 1813.

2 Wilson's History of India, Vol. I, p. 385.

3 The Indian War of Independence of 1857. By An Indian Nationalist.

"Martial Law had been proclaimed : these terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation ; *soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assizes, or slaying Natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the record of* our British Parliament, in papers sent home by the Governor-General in Council, *that the aged women and children are sacrificed as well as those guilty of rebellion. They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages*—perhaps now and then accidentally shot. *Englishmen did not hesitate to boast or to record their boastings in writing, that they had spared no one*" and that "*peppering away at niggers*" *was very pleasant past-time* "*enjoyed amazingly.*"[1]

The following passage from the report of the "Governor-General in Council," 24th December, 1857, on the state of affairs in the previous July throws considerable light on the treatment of the people throughout the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab :—

"The indiscriminate hanging, not only of persons of all shades of guilt, but of those whose guilt was at the least very doubtful, and *the general burning and plunder of villages, whereby innocent as well as the guilty, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately punished, and in some cases, sacrificed,* had deeply exasperated large communities not otherwise hostile to the Government ; that the cessation of agriculture, and the consequent famine were impending ; that there were sepoys passing through the country some on leave, others who had gone to their homes after the breaking up of regiments, having taken no part in the mutiny, but having done their utmost to prevent it ; others who had risked their lives in saving their European officers from the sanguinary fury of their

[1] (*a*) Thompson, Edward : The Other Side of The Medal. New York. Harcourt Brace & Co. (*b*) Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War." (Italics are mine.)

comrades ; and that all of these men, in the temper that at that time generally prevailed among English officers and residents throughout the country, and still unhappily prevails in some quarters, were liable to common penalty ; and lastly, that the proceedings of the officers of the Government had given color to the rumor that the Government meditated a general bloody persecution of Mohammedans and Hindus."

The history of India from the Battle of Plassey (1757) to the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 shows that the East India Company followed the policy of ruthless conquest by wars, in which Indian soldiers were used to fight against the Indians for the promotion of British interests. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny convinced British statesmen that, if they were to continue British supremacy in India, it would be imperative that they should adopt a new policy. (1) The abolition of the East India Company and introduction of direct control of India by the British Government, (2) preservation of "the Native States of India," (3) encouragement to the work of christianising India, (4) re-organisation of the Indian army, (5) denial of self-government and political authority to the people of India, (6) disarming the nation, so that it will not be able to make an armed resistance against the alien oppressors, (7) striking terror by various means, including enforcement of lawless laws which authorised imprisonment of Indian patriots for an indefinite period without any trial, (8) utilisation of Indian resources to strengthen British economic and industrial power and at an economic loss of India, and (9) the application of the general policy of "divide and rule" were the principal methods adopted by British statesmen to consolidate British power in India. These points can be verified from careful study of Indian history.[1]

In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India." During the same year Sir John Strachey, as the

[1] Basu, Major B. D.: Consolidation of Christian Power in India. Published by R. Chatterjee, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Finance Minister of the Government of India, gave a very clear exposition of British colonial fiscal policy. He said :—

"We are often told that it is the duty of the Government of India to think of Indian interests alone, and that if interests of Manchester suffer, it is no affair of ours. For my part, I utterly repudiate such doctrine. I have not ceased to be an Englishman because I have passed the greater part of my life in India and have become a member of the Indian Government. The interests of Manchester at which some people sneer are the interests not only of the great intelligent population engaged directly in the cotton trade, but of millions of Englishmen. I am not ashamed to say that while I hope I feel as strongly as any man, my duties I owe India, there is no higher duty in my mind than that which I owe to my own country, Great Britain." [1]

Subordination of the interests of the people of India to those of the British people remains to-day as a cardinal policy of British imperialism.[2] Thus inspite of all professions of reforms, the people of India are denied full control over the finances of the country. Nature has been kind enough to endow India with raw materials, possibly the richest in the world. An English missionary who has considerable experience in India writes :—"India's immense export of grain are sufficient indication that at any rate she raises enough agricultural produce to satisfy the demands of her total population. She is amply supplied with coal and iron, more than sufficient for her own needs. Probably no country in the world possesses such enormous reserves of water-power. She has virtual monopoly of world's jute and could herself meet more than world's entire demand for tea and rubber. She is rich in

[1] Speech in the Governor-General's Legislative Council on Financial Statement, 1877.

[2] (*a*) Wadia, P. A. and Joshi, G. N. : The Wealth of India. New York. Macmillan Company. (*b*) Rai, Lajpat : England's Debt to India. New York. (*c*) Shah, Prof. K. T. : Sixty Years of Indian Finance. London, P. S. King & Sons, 1921.

copra and oil seeds, she conducts a very large export trade in hides, and she contains one of the world's largest oil-fields. There are very few of India's needs that cannot be met from her own resources, were her industries properly developed." The same author rightly asserts that "*till now India's economic expansion has been severely limited by the consideration for British interests. Agriculture and industry have been so developed as to secure that India will supply Britain with the maximum of food and raw materials, and receive in turn the maximum of British manufactured products.*" [1] Prof. A. Demangeon of the Sorbonne University summarises the economic significance of British Imperialism as follows :—

"India is the typical colony for exploitation. Immensely rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once fortune and defense. It is through India that British empire assures her destiny. India is the halting place of British commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support for the sea routes. India recruits for the Army legions of high-spirited soldiers ; native contingents fight for great Britain in China and South Africa. During the Great War, India supplied more than a million men, of whom more than 100,000 were killed. India is for Great Britain an enormous market ; two-thirds of her importations come from English sources ; she furnishes 51 per cent. of the wheat production of the Empire ; 58 per cent. of the tea, 73 per cent. of the coffee, and almost all the cotton. An immense British capital has been invested in Indian mines, factories, plantations, railways, and irrigation works. India pays interest on probably 350 million pounds sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays and whose savings every year go to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers the interests of her public debt, the pensions of old officials, the governmental expenses of her administration. More than 30 million pounds

[1] Holland, W. E. S. : The Indian Outlook, London, 1926.

sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders and officials. At that we do not know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never was the term exploitation better applied." [1] The same author asserts that British control of India enabled Great Britain to secure industrial supremacy. He writes :—

"The flood of wealth that has flowed into Great Britain since she has been exploiting the tropical world has proceeded to a large extent from India, and it was there in particular, that the fortune of the merchants of London was made...To her (India) the East India Company owed that unheard of prosperity of which Macaulay said that history knows nothing equal to it...By tributes imposed upon the Indian princes, by taxes levied on the peoples, by personal profits of the Company's agents, and by export of gold, precious stones, and the fine textiles, there were built up enormous "Indian fortunes" which came to England at the very time when the country was heading for the Industrial Revolution and had most need of capital. With this wealth the coal mines, blast furnaces, the iron works, and the cotton and woolen mills of Great Britain were enabled to set up their new machinery and assume industrial supremacy in the markets of the world."[2]

The opinion of this French savant regarding exploitation of India has been confirmed by no less an authority than the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, who wrote :—"When all is said and done and the balance is struck, I think there can be no doubt that India suffers greatly because so much of the created wealth is spent and fructifies outside itself...*The sums paid out of India in this way are increasing. The grand total of charges upon Indian Revenues paid in England was*

[1] Demangeon, A. : America and the Race for World Domination. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921, pp. 209-210.

[2] Demangeon, A : The British Empire. New York, 1925, pp. 238-239.

£20,000,000 per annum at the outbreak of the war; in 1835 they were 3,000,000, in 1850 they were 3,500,000...The drain from private business is unknown, but the whole transaction lumped with all other balances in exchange is seen in the figures of Indian export and import, which show in money values an adverse balance from £20,000,000 to £30,000,000."[1]

Direct result of British exploitation of India include the destruction of Indian industries. The masses of India have thereby become victims of abject poverty and recurring famines.[2] About 85 per cent. of the Indian people depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, and they are worst victims of imperialism. Sir Charles Elliot, the late member of the Viceroy's Council and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal said : "I do not hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never knows from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied."[3] It is a fact that the peasants of Central Asia under the Tsar's regime were less exposed to exploitation through heavy taxation than are the Indian peasants. "According to various authorities, Russia's demands upon land owners in Central Asian possessions are not so exacting as ours in India, for *the British Government insists on a fifth of the produce, making no allowance for good or bad years, while Russia is said to ask only a tenth, and to allow for variations of production.*"[4] *In some cases British Government takes away more than sixty per cent. of the net product of an Indian farmer in the shape of land revenue alone.*"[5]

Lord Sydenham and other British imperialists cunningly suggest that the Indian people under the British rule pay the

1 MacDonald : Government of India, pp. 149-151. (Italics are mine.)

2 (*a*) Sunderland, Rev. Dr. J. T. : India in Bondage and Her Right to Freedom. New York, Louis Copeland, 1929. (This is possibly the best book on the subject.) (*b*) Digby, Sir William : Prosperous British India, 1900. (*c*) Dutt, R. C. : Economic History of India in Victorian Era., London.

3 Russell, Charles Edward : Uplifting of the Many. New York.

4 Colquhoun Sir Archibald R. : Russia against India. New York (1901). Harpers, p. 106.

5 (*a*) Hardie, Kier : India. (*b*) O'Donnell ; Failure of Lord Curzon.

lowest rate of taxation.[1] But they conveniently forget the fact that the *per capital income of the people of India is possibly the lowest in the world.* Sir Viswesvarya in an address before the Indian Economic Conference has observed that the annual average per capita income in the United Kingdom is $240, whereas in India it is less than $18; the death rate per thousand is below 14 in Great Britain and over 30 in India; the average expectation of life is 45 in England and 24 years in India.[2] In India, because of the poverty of the masses, as the present Prime Minister of Britain has pointed out, the people have not the capacity to pay the normal rate of taxation. *" The official apologists keep reminding us of the low rate of taxation in India," he states, " but it has nothing to do with the matter. The question is what is the taxable capacity of the people, and as regards the great mass the answer must be, 'practically nil.'* Englishman can be taxed, on the average, £10 a head, and *Indians only a shilling, and the impost will be heavier than the English."*[3]

Since the days of the East India Company, Great Britain has had enriched herself by India's wealth by billions of pounds sterling, while the Indian masses are reduced to most pitiable condition by this continuous process of exploitation. The following remark of an American, expert on Far Eastern situation, portrays the condition as it exists in India to-day: "You see at least 90 per cent. of the 317,000,000 people of India in abysmal depths of benightedness out of which no sincere attempt ever seems to have been made to lift them. You see perhaps 70 per cent. of them wallowing in abject poverty and such conditions of life as probably exist nowhere else on earth."[4]

1 Lord Sydenham, in the Current History Magazine of New York Times, October, 1924.

2 The Modern Review (Calcutta), December, 1924, p. 780 and also *vide* MacDonald's Government of India, p. 139.

3 MacDonald, J. Ramsay: Government of India, p. 149.

4 Millard, Thomas F.: Conflict of Policies in Asia. New York. Century Company, p. 132.

Considering the awful poverty of the masses, British militarism in India is a serious drain on the economic resources of the people. The expected revenue of India for the year 1923-24 was estimated by Sir Basil Blackett to be about $661,800,000. The amount estimated for the military expenditure for the same period was $207,000,000. This amount is larger than the military and naval expenditure of Japan for the same period. The strength of the army in India before the World War was 77,500 regular British troops and 159,000 native soldiers. Even after the World War it has not been materially reduced.

The primary function of the British army is to keep India under subjection, and to preserve and extend the British Empire. Defence of India from foreign aggression is also one of its functions. But Great Britain has systematically disarmed the people of India and studiously refused to allow the Indians military education and opportunity to become commissioned officers. Under the present scheme of Indian Army organisation, Indians are barred from serving in the artillery, and Indian officers—they are less than hundred in number—are deprived of all real power and opportunity for achieving distinction and proper military training of high character. Although India spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually for military expenditure and have spent several billions of dollars during the last half a century, there is not a military or naval college in India, where Indians can get education for national defence.

Although there is some talk of "Indianisation of the Indian Army," the policy of discrimination against Indians is being carried out with great determination. The British Government in India apparently does not want to carry out the recommendations of the Skeen Commission,[1] which has made modest suggestions of establishing a National Military College and selection of larger number of Indian students without any discrimi-

[1] (*a*) Skeen Commission Report, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. (*b*) The Times (London), August 23, 1927, p. 9.

nation of caste, creed or colour, but through competitive examinations, for their training in England to become officers in the Indian Army. Indians are not eligible to join Indian Air Forces in the capacity of pilots or officers.

According to the latest British report " the cost of the Army in India is borne by the Indian tax-payer, and paid out of the central revenues. It is of necessity a very large figure—at present not less than 55 crores of rupees, equal to about £41 millions per annum."[1] Although India is the training ground for British Generals and Field Marshals and Australian and Canadian officers are being trained in India for Imperial purposes yet the Indian people are not trusted with that type of military education which will make them fully able to take charge of Indian National Defence. After depriving the Indian people of responsibility of national defence, the British Government alleges that it is saving Indians from foreign invasion. By bearing the expense of training and maintaining some 80,000 British soldiers and officers who are stationed primarily for the preservation of British imperial interests, India is made to pay the military cost of her own exploitation. Britain does not pay a penny of Indian military expenditure, although it has been repeatedly pointed out by Indian as well as British statesmen that " Britain must share the cost of defending India, *for on the security of her dominions (India) depends the stability of the British world-empire.*"[2]

From a purely economic point of view, British military policy in India is an unjust imposition on the poor people of India to further the ends of British Imperialism. The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald says: " A large part of the army in India certainly one half, is the Imperial army which we require for other than purely Indian purposes, and its costs, therefore, should be met from Imperial and not from Indian funds. When

1 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (popularly known as the Simon Commission Report), Vol II or British Command Paper No. 3569, published in May, 1930, page 170.

2 Colquhoun : Russia against India, p. 149.

we stationed troops in other parts of the Empire, we did not charge them upon the colonies but in India we have the influence of the dead hand.....*The present plan, by which India pays for the Imperial Army stationed there without in any way determining policy, is as bad as it can be. If the existing of military defence is to last, the whole cost of the British Army in India should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer.*[1] Over and over again the people of India had to bear the expenses of British imperialist aggressive wars in China, Afghanistan, Africa and other parts of the world. The Indian nationalists oppose the idea of India's man-power, economic resources and strategic position being used to subjugate other nations. They demand that India must control the military affairs of the nation and thus be able to reduce military expenditure and take a definite stand against militarism and imperialism.[2] It is interesting to note that the much-lauded Simon Commission Report advises the British Parliament that the people of India or the Indian Legislature should not be given any control of the military affairs of the country. Among other things it recommends, " If the responsibility for the Army in India is to rest with the Imperial Government [not the government of Indian people], that Government would continue to be represented in India by the Governor-General; and the day-by day administration of the Army would be, as now in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. The latter would, however, cease to be a member of the Indian Legislature, and while he remained a colleague of the Governor-General, he would cease to be the holder of a portfolio in the Government of India. *The Central Legislature, as now, would not vote supply for the Army : appropriation of revenue for this purpose, in accordance with the arrangement we have assumed, would be authorised by the certificate of the Governor-General...*"[3]

1 MacDonald, J. Ramsay : Government of India, pp. 153-155. (Italics are mine.)

2 Report of the All-Parties Conference (popularly known as Nehru Report) published by the All-India National Congress, Allahabad, India. 1928.

3 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol II, page 176. (Italics are mine.)

Thus it is evident that the British policy of to-day is to keep military control over India and not to allow the people of India any responsible share in the administration of national defence and finance.

It is the contention of many students of British Imperialism in India that under its influence, India has been demoralised. Mahatma Gandhi, during his trial made a written statement in which he said: "Little do they realise that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no juggling in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye...*I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she was ever before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system.*"[1]

One of the things that remains as an eternal disgrace to British rule in India is its opium policy. The British East India Company, not only forced opium upon China and fought the Opium Wars, but it also made the people of India victims of the opium evil merely for profit. The opium policy of the East India Company has been summed up in the following lines: "It sacrificed (Indian) national interests in order to make profits. It ordered the ploughing up of fields of poppies when its stocks of opium was sufficient and did not want to depress prices; at another time, *and for the same business reason, it decreed planting of poppy crops instead of grain.*"[2]

The present-day opium policy of the British Indian Government is the same as it was during the days of Warren Hastings, with a very slight modification. It has been summed up in the report of the Indian Retrenchment Commission of 1923 by Lord Inchcape, who recommended that *since opium is an important*

1 Gandhi, M. K. : Young India. New York. Haubech & Co. 1923. pp. 1052-54.
MacDonald : Government of India, p. 125.

source of revenue, Indian cultivators should be encouraged by the Government to continue growing poppy.[1] The opium trade in India is the British Indian Government's monopoly. The people of India in general and all Indian nationalists in particular, are opposed to British Indian Government's opium policy, and want the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium strictly limited to scientific and medicinal purposes.[2]

The British Indian Government derives annually more than £20,000,000 from opium revenue. Profit or revenue being the first consideration, the British Government and some of the native states refuse to restrict the production of opium. In the recent International Opium Conference held at Geneva, Mr. Campbell, the British Indian representative, repeatedly opposed the American plan of restriction of production of opium for medicinal and scientific purposes only.[3] The sinister attitude of the British Indian Government on the opium question can be fully realised when we see that although 5,000 British medical men and women have declared opium to be poison, the British Indian Government regards opium as a "household remedy" for all kinds of sickness of the masses of India. The Government allows practically unrestricted sale of opium from licensed stalls on the ground that India has not enough of medical men and hospitals and masses should use opium as medicine. The people of India has no control over the finances of the country, so they cannot abolish the curse of opium as Japan has done for her people, although they are anxious to do so. Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and others are seeking world co-operation to suppress the opium evil.[4] Through the pressure of International

1 La Motte, Ellen N.: The Ethics of Opium. New York. Century Co. 1924.

2 "Opium in India" by National Christian Council in India, Burma and Ceylon. Calcutta, 1924.

3 Gavit, John Palmer: "Opium," New York, Brentano, 1927.

4 Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U. S. House of Representatives on "Limitation of Habit forming Drugs and Raw Materials from which they are made." Washington, D. C. 1923.

public opinion the British Government has been forced to reduce its opium export from India, *but opium consumption in India in recent years has increased.*

One of the justifications of British rule in India, offered by many, is that Great Britain is civilising the people of India, and affording splendid facilities for education. Perhaps it is well to record the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, during the early nineteenth century under the East India Company, about the existing condition of the people of India. He wrote " if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to their convenience or luxury, *schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic,* the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between England and India, I am convinced that England will gain by the import of cargo." [1]

In the period just preceding the British occupation of India and during the earlier decades of the East India Company's rule, India was not an illiterate country. The highest type of " *modern scientific education,*" of course, was not available. But so far as literary knowledge of three R's go, India was then more advanced than now. On the strength of British official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, Prof. Max Müller has left it on record that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. According to the *India Year Book* for 1924, edited by Sir Stanley Reed there were in 1921-1922 in Bengal 33 Arts colleges, 887 high schools and 35,621 primary schools, total 36,541.

[1] The Modern Review, Calcutta, December, 1924, p. 728.

So that the number of educational institutions has become less than half of what it was in Bengal prior to British occupation. At present there is one educational institution in Bengal for every 1,278 of population, as against one of every 400 prior to the British occupation.....Since Bengal possesses more educational institutions than any other large province of India and its literacy is also higher, we need not dwell on the progress made elsewhere." [1]

It is enough to say that 2·5 per cent. of the population of British India is enrolled in primary schools and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary education of any kind. Rev. Fred B. Fisher, the Methodist Bishop of Calcutta, in comparing the educational condition of India and that of the Philippines says :—" In the sixteen years of our (United States) Commission Government in the Philippines, from 1900 to the passage of the Jones Bill in 1916, 50 per cent. of the children in the Philippines had been put in schools. In India to-day after an administration of over a century, only 20 per cent. of Indian children are in school. There is but one school for every seven towns and villages." [2]

It will be of interest to note that the British Indian Government spends less for education in all India than Columbia University spends for its works.[3] The general educational condition of the people of some of the States ruled by the Indian Princes, especially the states of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda, is far superior to that of the people of the British Indian provinces.[4] According to the census report of 1921, the percentages of male and female literates in Travancore State are 38 (literates per 100 males of 5 and over) and 17·3

[1] *Ibid*, pages 727-728.

[2] (*a*) Fisher, Fred B. · India's Silent Revolution, Macmillan & Co. 1920, p. 156. (*b*) Williams, Gertrude : Understanding India, New York, 1929.

[3] The Modern Review, Calcutta, Sept , 1924, p. 349.

[4] Singh, Saint Nahal : Recent Educational Progress in India (Contemporary Review, London, January, 1918).

(literates per 100 females of 5 and over). In Cochin 31·7 and 11·5 respectively and in Baroda State 24 and 4·7 ; but in British India the percentage is 14·4 and 2·0 respectively.[1]

The greatest defect of the educational system of British India is not only the neglect of education of the masses, but also absolute inadequacy of scientific, medical, technical and agricultural education to meet the needs of the nation,[2] inspite of the fact that the examination of the proportion of college-going population to the total population of a single track like Bengal indicates that with the population approximately that of the United Kingdom, proportion of educated classes who are taking full-time University courses is ten times as great as in England.[3] But it must not be forgotten that according to the last census report the literate population of British India was 59 per thousand or less than 6 per cent. and the standard of education in Indian schools are far inferior to that of Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan or the United States.[4]

Inspite of very limited education facilities and lack of encouragement of education by the Government of India, India can be justly proud of men like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Jagadischandra Bose, Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. Raman, Dr. Shah and many others in the field of educational achievements. The people of India in the past contributed a great deal to the progress of civilization and culture of the world.[5] By the present policy of fostering ignorance and neglecting education among the people of India, the British Government has done

1 Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I (1930), p. 382.

2 Oak, V. V. : England's Educational Policy in India, Madras, B. G. Paul, 1925.

3 Statement on Moral and Material Condition of India, 1920 (British Government Publication), p. 27.

4 (*a*) India Year Book, 1922, p. 449, (*b*) Williams, Gertrude : Understanding India. New York. 1920.

5 (*a*) Seal, Dr. Brajendranath : Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus. Longmans Green & Company. (*b*) Ray, Sir P. C. : History of Hindu Chemistry. (*c*) Dutt R. C. : History of Civilization in Ancient India. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

great harm not only to the people of India but to the world at large.

It is generally asserted that the British Government in India is training the people in the art of self-government. But long before the British possessed anything like democratic representative self-government, the people of India enjoyed the blessings of their own self-governing political institutions.[1] Since the days of the East India Company, it has been the cardinal policy of the British Government to exclude the people of India from assuming the responsibility of governing themselves, so that in time they would be rendered incapable of self-government by the lack of experience. Writing to Lord Canning in 1820, Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, remarked :—"Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from trust and emoluments, is much more efficacious in depressing them than all our laws and school books can do in elevating their character. We are acting against our own designs, *and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate.*" [2]

In 1930, inspite of all professions and commissions, after more than 175 years of British rule, there has not been any fundamental change in the above policy. The spirit of British Imperialism in India is to keep the people in subjection and exploit them for the benefit of the British people in general and British imperialists in particular. Further more the British Imperialists have designs of utilising Indian man-power stategic position, raw materials and economic resources to further the British imperialist system. The present nationalist movement

[1] (*a*) Banerjea, P. : Public Administration in Ancient India, Macmillan, New York. (*b*) Aiyanger, S. K. : Ancient India, Luzac, London, 1911. (*c*) Mazumdar, R. C. : Corporate Life in Ancient India, Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1918. (*d*) Sarkar, B. K. : The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus, Leipzig, Markett and Peters, 1922.

[2] Millard, Thomas, E. : Conflict of Policies in Asia, p. 27.

in India is an endeavour to change the existing system. An American observer on the present situation in India writes :—

" It was Warren Hastings who first acted upon the assumption that Indians could not be entrusted with authority to handle revenues and to administer justice. This assumption has been the prevailing influence in England's conduct of the affairs of India ever since, and it is in protest against this assumption that the people of India have risen to a point of practically open rebellion against British domination." [1] The people of India are working to recover their birth-right of freedom; while the British Imperialists are determined that the people of India should not even be accorded " Dominion Status " within the British Empire. Viscount Rothermere has given economic reasons for British determination of keeping India under subjection. He wrote :

" Foolish people in this country (Great Britain) talk about the evacuation of India as if it would make no more difference to the prosperity of our Empire than the abandonment of British Guiana. They do not realise that the step they so lightly contemplate would be *the end of Britain as a great power.* Their lazy minds are incapable of understanding that the loss of India would bring immediate economic ruin to this country ; that instead of close on two million unemployed we should have four or five millions, for whom no relief could be provided, and who would soon be faced with starvation.

" India is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports, and our imports from there are second only to those from the United States. Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough to provide old age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all the other state allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of their automatic

[1] *Ibid*, p. 28.

routine of existence. These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India. *At least four shillings in the pound of income* of every man and woman in Great Britain is drawn, directly or indirectly, from our connection with India." [1]

Lord Rothermere cannot be regarded as an anti-British agitator and he has given the honest truth about the significance of British Imperialism in India. The above statement gives a clear insight of the true significance of "Britian's civilising mission in India."

TARAKNATH DAS

[1] Daily Mail (London), June 3, 1930, *vide* The Modern Review (Calcutta), July, 1930, p. 102

THE SPIRIT OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

It is a great pleasure for me to leave apart my Oriental studies and to inaugurate in this University which enjoys the privilege of being the most famous in India, a series of lectures upon things Italian. I always thought that Sanskrit learning must not be a purely philological show ; if I turned my attention to Indian literature it was not for a mere desire of knowing when Indian poets or philosophers lived, and what are the works that they wrote. This was never my purpose. I was on the other hand convinced that philology is a simple means by which we can understand a country, in our case, India, in her past and in her present ; and therefore Indian philosophy was, as many of you know, the subject that I was chiefly interested in, because "philosophy," as Hegel said, "is nothing but the history of a people expressed in the form of concepts." When, in fact, we are confronted with a big civilisation which played an essential rôle in the history of mankind, what we need is chiefly to understand, not merely to know. I came to India to have a direct experience of her life, to live with Indians, I should say to feel what Indian civilisation is. The study of a language or the publication of a text is much but not all : those who have spent, as I did, many years upon the study of Indian history and culture and have dedicated their best energies to her, waste, I think, their time if they do not accomplish a greater task, *i.e.*, if they do not try to co-operate for the promotion of a better understanding between the country in which they were born and the other to whose study they have consecrated their lives.

India and Italy are perhaps in a condition to link up ties of friendship and to understand each other easier than any other country. Our interests are the highest possible, I mean, purely intellectual. In this sphere of intelligence and cultural relations it is hoped that those hindrances do not exist which divide

men and races and are based upon practical and material interests. Our friendship has its foundation upon a reciprocal sympathy and perhaps upon some peculiar aspects that are common to both races. Indians as well as Italians have the same enthusiasm and the same versatility, the same love for arts and music, though owing to quite different conditions of surroundings and history, these tendencies developed in different ways. We have the same proud awareness of the fact that we had a great past and must be destined to no less great future, the same spirit of intelligent adaptation, which makes us to comply with the circumstances much more than to fight against them with an obstinacy which experience proves after all to be very often fruitless. Though there are some fundamental differences, as we shall see, between Italian and Indian vision of life, still some striking similarities in the external development of the history of our countries can be traced out. Classical culture which is the outcome of the blending of Greek with Latin, that is to say, Roman mind, is at the basis of European civilisation, though modified, in a certain measure only, by Christian influence. There is such a vitality in this, now much abused classical culture, that nobody can understand, I do not say an Italian poet, but any great European poet, say Goethe or Shelley, without being aware of the classical ideals. Kant will remain a closed book to those who do not spend some time in the study of Aristotle. European art in its best productions is essentially classical, that is to say Greek, made more universal because nearer to reality by Latin spirit. Just as at the bottom of the various and often apparently discordant manifestations of European cultures, we find this ideal that we may call classical and Christian, which was chiefly elaborated in Italy, so also Asia in spite of her varieties presents a definite tendency towards a unity of culture upon which the modern Japanese generation is rightly insisting and which we may call Indian-Buddhist. In fact if there was an attempt to unify the different ideals represented by the various Eastern civilisations this was due to India,

because essentially Indian are those general and common features that we find all over Asia.

It is known that this was the achievement of Buddhism, chiefly Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, a faith which was always coming nearer to Hinduism. It was this Buddhism which inspired the magnificent art that we can trace from the borderland of Persia to Japan, from Siberia to Java. It was the conquest of a higher civilisation which spread slowly over all the countries of the East. Still India did not send any army outside her boundaries nor any fleet to Java and Indo-China. They were only pious monks and priests, clever artists and illuminate traders. In Asia happened what you find *mutatis mutandis* in the history of Italy as soon as the Medieval Age was over and the marvellous blossoming of the Renaissance began. Our country had no political unity ; it was split up into different antagonistic states not only fighting with one another but also asking the German or French emperors for help, thus opening the doors of Italy to foreign invasions. Still in our political misery we were the leaders of European art and culture. That was the time when the " humanists " were reviving the classical ideal of beauty in art and literature that had disappeared during the ravages of the Middle Ages. While Politian and Ariosto perfected the harmony of Italian poetry, Pomponazzi and Telesio laid the foundation of new European philosophy, and Michelangelo and Raffaello astonished Europe with the wonderful creations of their genius. The invaders studied our language, loved our poets, invited our best artists to their countries. Italy in subjugation dictated her laws to the strongest countries of the West. Some might object that freedom and strength are preferable to mere superiority of intelligence, or one might also say that those only who have lost all hope in the present or in the future, praise the past ; this may be true for an individual but not for a nation. Individuals die, but nations if they are not dispersed by external factors, develop through an endless process, thus always realising

new possibilities. To have had a great blossoming of culture in the past does not necessarily imply that all energies are thereby exhausted, but it only shows that a race is better gifted than others. I could insist on this point of similarity between Italian and Indian mind which manifests itself in history as well as in literature. I could also remind you of an Italian Saint who in his life and in his teaching is more Indian than any other European has ever been ; I mean Saint Francis, the Poverello of Assisi, whom we must consider, whether we are Christians or not, as one of the greatest figures of mankind. When I read with an ever growing admiration and excitement that marvellous book, the Chaitanya Charitamrita, I wondered how so many analogies were possible in the life and in the very wording of the teachings of these two great mystics: the same passionate devotion, the same spirit of humility, the same unfailing love for all living beings. The philologist would certainly be glad to note down all these similarities and to start a theory of reciprocal influences of the one upon the other. A more experienced mind will only say that in this case also we are confronted with two Avataras, as you say, of the eternal divine always present though unperceived in the interior of our souls. By this, I do not wish to exclude *a priori* the possibility of some real exchange or even borrowing between India and Italy.

This statement will not appear so surprising when we remember that our republic used to send sailors, merchants, and missionaries all over the East, from Marco Polo to Orderigo da Porfenone. It was certainly through them that the Pancatantra reached Italy and appeared in an Italian garb. There is no doubt that the book of Viṣṇusarmā was the indirect original of the "Animali Parlanti," "the speaking animals" of Agnolo da Firenzuola. And, I think that between the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo," the forerunners or contemporaries of Dante, and the Vaisnava lyrics of India and chiefly of Bengal, there is a more or less remote connection, which is perhaps based on a common

Iranian mysticism of the middle ages. The similarities are so striking and the symbolism of the Italian and the eastern poets is, in this case, so much alike that the hypothesis of a reciprocal interference is far from being phantastical. These similarities and analogies which can be easily traced through the entire course of the evolution of our literature and history are not the object of mere philological curiosity, but they have also a deeper meaning. It will therefore be my task to note them down during the lectures that I shall deliver in this University. I must say from the very beginning that these lectures will not be a catalogue of names or a series of dates. I cannot do that simply because I do not believe that by heaping up mere external data we can succeed in giving a fairly good analysis of a literature, that is to say, of the mind of a people. History is necessary for putting into order the rough material that we have at our disposal, but this material is meaningless if it is not elaborated in such a way as to give an exact idea of the spiritual evolution of those who created it. It is perhaps useless for me to say these things to you. Your Pandits in fact were always more interested in the inner and ideal meaning than in mere external facts ; the 'bahiraṅgapariksā' in which so many indulge now when our knowledge is greater in extent but lesser in depth, was in India disregarded as an useless investigation. Quite in accordance with this principle I shall in my brief survey of Italian culture, try to give you a synthetical synopsis always referring to the spiritual atmosphere in which literature and art grew and of which they were the necessary outcome. In this way we shall have the advantage not only of visualising the various forms that the artistic activity of Italian mind assumed, but also of finding out the deeper meaning of the evolution of the Italian spirit in general, which, as that of any other people in the world, is always one and identical, though it manifests itself in manifold aspects throughout its endless process. It is therefore evident that in my lectures I shall draw your attention more to the currents of our literature and art than to particular individuals,

excepting those leading figures that mark, as it were, some definite moments in the evolution of our spirit. In fact they are more than individuals. Men such as Dante or Leopardi, Michelangelo or Raffaello, represent much more than particular visions of life or ideals of art, since in their work we see reflected in a conscious synthesis the spiritual exigence and the tendencies of our people at a given moment. We shall therefore study each one of them in detail, and try to understand and to visualise their significance for a better comprehension of Italian mind.

My courses cannot for many reasons be as complete as I wanted ; but chiefly owing to the necessity of fixing some limits to my expositions, I must begin my lectures with the first appearance of our literature in the new vernacular called old Italian, as being quite distinct from Latin exclusively used before that time ; that is to say I must begin with the 12th century, because at that time only we find the first literary composition in Italian. But it is evident that such a limit is quite arbitrary. The history of a literature, as I said before, cannot be disconnected from the history of the civilisation in which it grew and developed. It is therefore difficult to grasp all the fundamental aspects of our intellectual and political life in the 12th century if we do not know the previous evolution of our people and chiefly if we have not a clear idea of that classical or Latin vision of life, blended as it was in the Middle ages with Christianity, which I alluded to before.

There is no doubt, in fact, that so far as my country is concerned, this classical tradition continued uninterrupted even when, as is generally believed, it was obliterated by other currents. This is at least the result of modern research. In the Middle ages, when the population of Italy was reduced from 300 lakhs, as it was at the time of Augustus, the first Roman emperor, to only 50 lakhs ; and the barbarians, Goths, Vandals, Longobards, Huns, invaded and plundered the country, classical

spirit representing the very foundation of our race, did not disappear. Though the newcomers, gradually amalgamating themselves with the Latin population, did certainly impress some of their peculiar characters upon the new nation that was to come out of this fusion, yet Latin civilisation prevailed against every foreign element. Those who visit the villages of Italy, scattered around the mountains and the hills, which have preserved their old aspect almost unchanged, will find in the medieval churches images and pictures in which the unexperienced artist was trying his very best to imitate the models that he had quite at hand in some ruined pagan temple. Schools of poets flourished who did embellish Christain legends with verses taken from the poem of Virgil or Horace. It is due to our monks that the masterpieces of Greek and Latin culture preserved in the libraries of the monasteries were handed down to us. The municipalities of our independent towns were still ruled according to the laws of ancient Roman colonies. Catholic Church itself, in its hierarchy and rites, followed Roman models. The reform that changed the aspect of Christianity in other countries held no sway in Italy because the historical surroundings and traditions did not give it any chance to prosper and develop. One might object that we had Giordano Bruno, Vanini and Campanella who just at that time preferred martyrdom to renouncing their beliefs. But though in some points their ideas were akin to those expounded by the reformers, still they were interested more in speculations and in metaphysics than in the religious and dogmatical problems discussed beyond the Alps.

In the same way our mystics, because you certainly know that we also had and have our mystic schools, are quite peculiar in their aspect. The mystics who flourished in German countries, from Thomas á Kempis to Bhoeme, were solitary souls who denied this world, saw in it the creation of the devil and by meditation and self-discipline in wilderness and mountains were agitated by the thirst after the

experience of the divine. Though we had some mystics of this kind, yet our mysticism, taken as a whole, is quite different, that is to say it is more than simple meditation or, self-mortification. It is action and organisation. Monastical orders, which developed following the model of Roman corporations, originated in Italy. Saint Benedict, himself a great mystic, dictated the Regula Sancti Benedicti, the rules for his monks and writing just after the fall of the great Roman Empire ; he connected the past with the future by introducing Roman civil and social experience into Christian communities. So also Saint Francis the most Indian, as I told you, of our Saints, is himself the founder of another order which being from the very beginning outside the Church, developed in a few years in such a way as to compel the Popes to give it their sanction; this was easily done because Roman Church was always against unlimited freedom of individual activity independently of any control of the community. This spirit of organisation which is quite Latin in its essence does not deny the rights of individuals, but only asserts that each individual can fully develop and realise his possibilities by remaining within the limits of the group and in accordance with the interest of the community. It survived the fall of the Roman Empire and we find it again during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance ruling over our famous corporations ; that is to say associations of workers or classes of citizens who could take part in public life only in so far as they belonged to some of these corporations. The spirit of social organisation is therefore a specific character of our culture all through our history. It seemed to be vanishing, it is true, in more recent times as a consequence of the condition in which Italy lived after the Renaissance. And it was on the point of being completely superseded by foreign ideas, opposing the rights of individuals to those of the community. But a fundamental character of a race cannot disappear and in fact new Italy, after the severe experience of the war and the trial of the tragic years that

immediately followed, during which the national edifice seemed to fall down to pieces under the *disgregative* forces of an ill-conceived freedom, degenerating into anarchism, recovered again the full consciousness of her ideals and her destiny. It has been the achievement of Fascism to assert once more the rights of the community and of the State above the capricious interests of contesting individuals. No nation can prosper unless the citizens identify the aim of the society with their own aim. Only then man can realise his complete freedom, when he freely accepts and follows with full consciousness the supreme laws which make it possible for him to collaborate with all for the interest of all. Therefore Fascist Government has gone back to the old corporative system which is quite Latin in its essence and origin though it has naturally modified it in accordance with the spirit of modern generations. It must therefore be our task in these lectures to trace out all the various manifestations of this classical ideal in our literature, art, history and society, because it is just through this that we can grasp the Italian culture *sub specie aeternitatis*. Let me illustrate this spirit having again recourse to India.

If one wishes to know Indian civilization and to understand her mind he must study the Vedas and the religious literature of India which has given your soul a peculiar aspect. Just in the same way, it would be impossible to understand the various manifestations of our thought at any moment of our history without a previous knowledge of the cultural synthesis which I call Latin or classical. This is peculiar to us as the Vedic and Vedantic culture, in its manifold varieties, is peculiar to you. Because, though, as I said before, there are many similarities, sometimes extremely striking, between the Indian and the Italian mind, still we must not forget that the general vision of life, the motif of our civilisation is different in its essential characters from yours. But as I could not give any adequate definition of what is Vedantism, so infinite are its manifestations,

though its fundamental idea is one, so I hesitate, and I think that every one must hesitate, in defining the classical ideal.

You may perhaps find in some manuals attempts at fixing in the scheme of a formula what is classicism. But in every case we are as a rule confronted with empirical generalisations which point out some external characteristics which have but little connection with the intimate essence of classicism. Some lay stress upon its aesthetical side, others upon its practical activities, others again on its sense of proportion and so on. But I can hardly believe that these definitions of the classical ideal can convey any meaning to those who are born and educated in quite different surroundings. It is certainly easy for us Latins if not to know at least to feel it because we were and are within its influence; it is difficult for others, say for Indians, to penetrate *ipso facto* its spirit and essence just as it would be difficult for an Italian who did not spend many years upon the study of Indian literature, art and philosophy, to understand what is Hindu vision of life. That notion is the result of a long experience and it requires a perusal of Greek and Latin authors and a knowledge of Latin and Greek art and history. I am conscious of the difficulty that you may find in comprehending the very foundation of our culture inasmuch as I see that Latin and Greek studies seem to be not very common as yet in India.

This classical ideal appears in art as well as in the various manifestations of life. In art it is striving after the perfection of form and harmony. It is an ideal synthesis in which the reality is not copied but spiritualised according to inner intuitions of a higher perfection. It is not, therefore, a mere imitation of nature, because imitation is mechanical, but a real creation of the spirit which accepts and then transforms, following his poetical phantasms, the data of experience. The Apollo of Belvedere or the Madonne of Raffaello are according to me the best expressions of this ideal in which the world of reality and the world of ideas, human and divine,

are strictly and indissolubly connected. This is the fundamental point which perhaps marks a great difference between Indian and Western art and is sometimes the cause of difficulty for Europeans to appreciate fully the inner significance of the wonderful artistic conceptions that were created on the soil of India. Indian art appears to me to be the expression of the superhuman and moves in the sphere of pure imagination. It is mystical and symbolical, it is immediately conducive to spiritual experience. Our art accepts the reality with the necessary limitation, though it transcends that reality in an ideal synthesis which is not of this world.

Classicism is also characterised by a deep sense of nature, *afflatus naturae* as they say in Latin. This nature is neither Māyā nor Avidyā, nor is she the creation of the devil as it was for the Christian mystics of the Middle Ages. She is as real as the spirit; she is our mother and home; she speaks to us a language that we can easily understand. She is always lavishing on us the comforts of her beauty.

Classicism is also harmony. But this harmony is not something external but rather a conquest, that is to say the result of our restless striving; it is neither too much, nor too less; *ne quid nimis*. Not too much implies renunciation. Not too less implies activity, that is to say the eternal struggle in its two fundamental aspects: the negative and the positive, so well expressed in the idea of the hero of the Greek and Roman tragedies.

It was this tragic sense so well illustrated by Nietzsche in his marvellous book on the origin of Greek tragedy, which prevailed and prevails all throughout the evolution of classicism and inspired the greatest literary masterpieces of the West, I mean the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and at a time nearer to us of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Alfieri. There we find the man fighting, with no hope of success, or victory against some fixed laws of fate; here it is a no less violent struggle within the soul itself of the individual as it was natural to expect at a time which followed Renaissance, when freedom

and the rights of mankind had been fully vindicated. It is, I repeat, this tragic vision which always predominates our culture. And it was even enhanced by Christianity, the essence of which is, as was rightly pointed out recently by the great Spanish writer and thinker, Miguel de Unamuno, just the spirit of "agonie," everlasting struggle. It is also here, I mean in the dramatic literature, considered as the expression of some fundamental tendency of a race that we find another of those differences that I pointed out between Indian and classical soul. Let us compare for instance the greatest of your dramatists, say Kālidās or Bhāwabhuti, with Æschylus, or Shakespeare; in India we find a serene and peaceful atmosphere untouched by wild passions and the poet as well as his protagonists are calm enough to admire the beauty of nature and to give free play to their sentiments in a lyricism, which only occasionally and for a short time may be interrupted by the Bīrarasa, the feeling of the terrible. In Western dramatists the heroes are driven as it were by inner forces towards the final end and so taken by the succession of the events that there is hardly any place for lyricism.

In our drama there is no escape. Man cannot avoid his destiny which is necessarily fixed. This tragic atmosphere dominates all our vision of life. It gives classical culture that pathos which we easily perceive in it. It is conscious awareness of some antinomy which cannot be conciliated and of some laws which cannot be avoided. Other countries also recognise some fatal limitations to human capacities and acknowledge some supreme forces which rule events and man beyond any possible human interference. This sense then manifests itself as a feeling of the nothingness of man before the superhuman, which Professor Otto would call "the *tremendum*" ; and in the *tremendum* there is no place for rebellion or fight but the acknowledgment of our limitation. Man has nothing but to adore and to pray. It is just the sense of the *tremendum* that your Tantric artists succeeded in expressing with an unparalleled ability in their creations

in which the feeling of our nothingness is so well symbolised as nowhere else in the world. But it is absolutely absent in the classical art, though this *tremendum* was never denied by classicism but rather accepted as a fatal and a irrational opposition. Mankind is engaged in an everlasting struggle against it, even without any chance of success; more than that its success would be its death. It is this same pathos based upon a cosmic contradiction that we can trace in classical philosophy always making unsuccessful attempts to solve the antagonism between spirit and nature, the divine and the human. Spirit and nature were always put on the same plane. Neither spirit was denied, nor nature was considered as a mere illusion. They are both necessary realities. The conciliation was over and again sought for but never reached and even now in spite of the efforts of Hegel and his followers to reduce nature to spirit, the problem still remains unsolved. It is again this tragic sense which separates so deeply the West from the East. But it is just for this apparent antagonism, for these peculiarities of culture proper to each race that collaboration is possible. Harmony comes out always from what, separately taken, seems discordant; and therefore, just where others see the root of a fatal opposition, I see the chief reason why East and West are expected to collaborate successfully in the realisation of higher ideals.

G. Tucci

THE DRUM-SONG

I listen as one bemused with melodies
Brought from the far-off edge of the world
When time was young and men knew joys
That we have forgotten long ago.
I hear weird minor cadences,
And dim ancestral memories
Stir and quicken into life again,
Called back on drum's soft monotone
And Pan-pipes plaintive wordless songs.
To-day, devoid of time and space,
Melts into a million yesterdays, all one,
And all a part of me in some strange way.
I see a flaming orange moon
Lighting with eerie fire the swaying
Tree-tops in a forest glade.
I see dim forms leaping within a ring
As music rises on the wind or falls
To muted breath with darkling night.
I see day-dawns of pearl, and cooking-fires,
And hunters going forth with clubs,
Blood-hungry, avid and primeval.
I see youth and youth's love, unashamed,
And marriage-rite around a bee-hive hut;
I see the cycle of life and love and death;
I feel the fierce delight of wandering;
Know all the mysteries that man has ever known;
The drum-song wakes wild echoes in my heart,
Echoes that I would voice yet have no words
Who now am inarticulate and tamed.

LILY STRICKLAND

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS—THE FIRST INTERPRETATION

I

We read the sonnets for their poetry, and no interpretation can hurt this poetry, for it commands our feelings whatever meaning we take even though most of the pleasure is intellectual. We read the sonnets like musicians enjoying a concert. In listening to music composers and people like that, exercise their intellect on the lovely sounds which we enjoy passively; music entails concentrated brainwork in them; yet all the while their intellect is at play, the beauty of the sounds acts on their emotions. So is it with the sonnets; our attention follows the intricate and conceited thought, while the loveliness of the sounds and expression plays on our emotions; our pleasure is mostly in the sound or in the poetry though our minds attend to the thought. Thus it is not surprising that more has been written about their significance, about what Shakespeare meant when he wrote them, than about the poetry which we read them for. Most great poetry has the misfortune to beget much prose, but we can find more excuse for the prosaic offspring of the sonnets than usual.

The mysteries invented or discovered to explain the sonnets appeal not alone to those whose interest in Shakespeare burns brightest in the Bacon controversy; for though no understandingly sympathetic student of Shakespeare's poetry or dramatic art ever thought it came from Bacon's brain, many sensitively appreciative readers of Shakespeare, accept some theory or other about his relations with a bad dark woman. They do this for one of two reasons. Some are glad to think that here at least the impersonal Shakespeare wrote personally; they like to think they have heard his personal cry. Others accept the slander from sheer lack of interest; they already know Shakespeare from his plays, have an unformalised feeling of the sort of man he was, and when they give limp acquiescence to some story of his love

for a disreputable dark woman, do not really *believe* him a moral weakling. Such stories touch most of us so little that we hardly think it worth the trouble to read the evidence and judge of them for ourselves. We either half believe what those who have dug for mysteries tell us, or deny such tales and leave the difficulty unsolved. Others, more ardent and ingenious, come to Shakespeare's defence like Mr. Cumming Walters with an allegoric reading, or, like Mr. Gerald Massey, invent or discover new stories to oust the old. Such inventions leave Shakespeare's name unbesmirched, and this is a real virtue; the false interpretation of a poet's life becomes morally wrong when it slanders, and almost despicable when that poet and his executors are dead. But the real value of the conflicting fictions based on the sonnets, lies where they destroy each other. We might find one surprising revelation in the sonnets difficult to upset; if they told one story, the sonnets might add to the history of a great Elizabethan; but when they divulge six or seven totally different histories their testimony loses its value.

The printer of Shakespeare's sonnets was a piratical publisher, T. Thorpe. This gives our literary detectives their clue ; of course Shakespeare never meant these pain-wrung private confessions to meet the eye of prying public. Then why did he hand them round among his friends, as we know from Meres that he did? And how brutal of some one, Meres or Shakespeare's friends, to characterize them as " sugred "—his tortured cries described as "Shakespeare's sugred sonnets." Those who combat the dark woman story, in their turn use the pirate publisher. All such theories depend on the sequence ; the story unfolds itself step by step. The advocates for the defence therefore, point out that we have nothing to prove that Thorpe's order followed Shakespeare's and that, indeed, the next editor rearranged the sonnets. But the liberty taken by Shakespeare's second editor does not prove his first irresponsible. We must accept Thorpe's order as Shakespeare's until we have direct proof to the contrary. It was the fashion to write a sequence of sonnets with some sort of

vague story not too closely adhered to yet easily felt, and to circulate it among one's friends. It was not the fashion to publish this sequence oneself, for in those days poets were too modest to print their own poems unless they could think of a good excuse to cover their arrogance, they left their poetry to fall into the possession of pirate publishers. A pirate published Sidney's sonnets, yet we do not question their order. If Sidney's come to us in the right order, why not Shakespeare's ? Sonnets in a sequence make a different sort of poetry from detached sonnets, many of them depending on the general context for their meaning. Even in the manuscript circulating among one's friends, the correct sequence would be as readily kept as that of a long poem circulating in the same way. Consequently the publishers would more easily procure a right sequence than a wrong one, for it could hardly have been worth while, supposing it possible, for a pirate (who, after all, was not a creditable person) to collect Shakespeare's 154 sonnets one by one from his 154 friends.

The dedication is the only other outside evidence directly connected with the sonnets :

" To the onlie begetter of
these insuing sonnets,
Mr. W. H., all happinesse
and that eternitie
promised
by
our ever-living poet
wisheth
the well-wishing
adventurer in
setting
forth.

T. T."

" T.T."[1] is Thomas Thorpe the pirate. " W. H." is certainly neither William Herbert, who was by then Earl of Pembroke,

[1] The facts and arguments, stated too categorically in this paragraph are from Sir Sidney Lee's *Life* where he explodes the theories connecting the sonnets with the Earls of Pembroke and Southampton, and gives evidence for William Hall.

nor the Earl of Southampton. Referring to either as "Mr. W. H." would be as sensible as calling the Duke of Richmond and Gordon "Mr. G.L." "Mr. W. H." may be a certain William Hall who procured the sonnets (he is the "only begetter"[1]) for the publisher, the dedication being in any case the publisher's not Shakespeare's for it is signed "T.T." not "W.S."—a small detail that upsets more than one theory. The solution of the German critic who says that "W.H." stands for William (Shakespeare) Himself, appeals to me, but I am afraid the evidence for William Hall is more tangible. Failing all these, "Mr. W. H." may refer to any of the other—shall we say thirty? forty? fifty? —W. H.'s then living in Shakespeareland but long since forgotten.

I come to have something to say about the sonnets not from knowing more about Shakespeare or more about the sonnet theories than the average reader of Shakespeare, but because I had the luck to come on the sonnets from an unusual angle. I had not read them in their sequence and knew little more than those we meet in anthologies until I began to study the Elizabethan sonnet for its prosody, and by good fortune in more or less chronological order. I turned to Shakespeare's as a final treat or culmination, and thus came on them with an open mind—except perhaps as regards their prosody—and was struck by them as presumably they would have struck an Elizabethan, or at least as they would have struck me had I been an Elizabethan. This is the right approach to the sonnets; we receive our first impression of them in their native atmosphere. Nothing can destroy an emotional first impression. I think no amount of argument or study could destroy the feeling of my first live impact with the sonnets; and so conclude that if we read them first in the wrong atmosphere, as an introduction to Elizabethan sonneteers or merely as a part of Shakespeare, no amount of study can change the first

[1] In Elizabethan times "beget" often means get."

impression of mystery they give, and must give, to anyone who comes on them like that. Even if subsequent reading of the other sonneteers explain away the mystery, still the atmosphere of the first reading must remain, colouring the meaning and influencing the mind to traverse again the groove it has already cut. One who has started by reading a wrong meaning into the sonnets will only with great difficulty receive the right one, however much he studies. The writings of many scholars show this. When the sonnets are read first of any Elizabethan sonnet series, they appear as the designings on the doorway of that gorgeous temple, the Elizabethan Sonnet, and their symbolizations seems to have deep significance in themselves, whereas it is the things in the temple that explain the designing on the door. Although we may enter by these richly carved portals, the masons built the temple first, and added this carved entrance after. All scholars know that Shakespeare's are only one of many Elizabethan sonnet series; yet because they have read Shakespeare's first, they cannot really get it out of their minds that Shakespeare wrote his first. Even the technical name for the typical form of the Elizabethan sonnet is "Shakespearean," although Shakespeare had nothing whatever to do with its discovery. This is not the place to discuss that form, but the misnaming of it is typical of our whole approach to Shakespeare. We think of him as a huge mountain, about which the other Elizabethan poets crowd like beautiful but after all small flowers, whereas in his own time he was merely a singularly lovely poet in a garden of lovely poets. Read alone his sonnets are mysterious, if not incomprehensible, suggesting all sorts of things and able to support a hundred ingenious theories. Read along with contemporary sonnets their meaning can hardly be missed. The Elizabethans noticed nothing mysterious, discovering in them neither a detective nor a Mrs. Grundy interest. Not till the eighteenth century (by then the other sonneteers were practically forgotten) did Shakespeare's sonnets first puzzle—and disgust—by their conceits and

exaggerations. To quote Steevens' oft-quoted complaint: they are composed in the "highest train of affectation, pedantry, circumlocution, and nonsense." In the nineteenth century students tried to turn that nonsense into sense, or in other words, to solve the mystery. The only safe, not to say fair, way of solving the mystery is to read the contemporary sonnets first, when Shakespeare's will appear neither mere nonsense nor mysterious.

The first English sonneteers, Wyatt and Surrey, copied the great Italian sonnet-writers. By 1587 their sonnets had been reprinted seven times. Though Watson's sonnets were published in 1581 the full tide of the English sonneteers was from 1591 to 1597, a six years' fashion. Sir Sidney Lee calculates that more than 200 love-sonnets were written in England each of these six years. The outburst started before them with Sidney (who died in 1586) and Daniel; their series were published in 1591. Before 1596 many more, such as Constable's, Barnes', Drayton's and Spenser's, were printed. Although Shakespeare's were not published till 1609, Meres refers to them in 1598, and some scholars think he started writing them as early as 1591 or 1592, for like those of the other poets they circulated in manuscript long before they fell into the printer's hands. Shakespeare had certainly read Sidney's, Daniel's and Drayton's series before he wrote his own, and probably those of the other poets writing in London round about that time, or with London friends and paying visits to London, such as Spenser, who probably wrote his about 1592 or 1593 to Elizabeth Boyle whom he married in 1594.[1]

The medieval sonnet cycle to an adored lady probably grew out of the Troubadour love song. The Elizabethan sonnet, at any rate, was very much influenced by the songs of its day, hence, indeed, its characteristic form, many of them differing

[1] For information in this paragraph see Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, Appendix IX.

from songs only in the final couplet. Thus to an Elizabethan, a love sonnet meant quite a frivolous or light little poem, not the terrific, solemn thing we mean by a sonnet. It had conventional themes, "commonplace" themes like the commonplaces of ballad poetry. The lady was always beautiful, had golden hair, "saphyr" eyes, pearl teeth, ruby lips, an ivory skin, roses and lilies in her cheeks, and, rather curiously to us, until we remember the *Song of Solomon*, a sweet-smelling breath. When Sidney dreamt about his lady, he asked Morpheus.

> Whence hast thou Ivorie, Rubies, Pearle, and Golde,
> So shew *her* skin, lips, teeth, and head so well? [1]

Spenser writes

> Fayre is my love, when her fayre golden heares,
> With the loose wynd ye waving chance to marke:
> Fayre when the rose in her red cheekes appeares,
> Or in her eyes the fyre of love does sparke.[2]
> * * *
>
> But fayrest she, when so she doth display,
> The gate with pearles and rubyes richly dight;
> Through which her words so wise do make their way
> To beare the message of her gentle spright.

or,

> Comming to kisse her lyps, (such grace I found)
> Meseemed I smelt a gardin of sweet flowres:
> That dainty odours from them threw around
> For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.
>
> Her lips did smell lyke unto Gillyflowers,
> Her ruddy cheekes lyke unto Roses red:
> Her snowy browes lyke budded Bellamoures,
> Her lovely eyes lyke Pincks but newly spred.[3]

Daniel and Drayton's ladies also had golden hair and all the other hues of beauty. Indeed no sonneteer could love a dark-haired woman without defying the conventions. Sidney came near it in writing to Lady Rick who had black eyes. He has to find

[1] XXXII. [2] LXXXI, *cf.* No. XV and Daniel's XIX. [3] LXIV.

excuses for them; he makes them pathetic, they are "mourning" eyes. The proper comparison for eyes was the sun, or the *stars,*[1] *especially the sun,*[2] since the lady herself was as important to the poet as the sun to the earth, and because of their dazzling brilliance, and the brightness of their light.[3] Constable[4] declares his love even surpasses the sun, which he flatters by the comparison. Sidney[5] talks of Stella raying her eyes on him like Aurora, presently they scorch him like the sun at noon, and he prays that "my sun go down with meeker beams to bed." As usual the simile appears most softly and sweetly in Spenser.

Mark when she smiles with amiable cheare,
And tell me whereto can ye lyken it:
When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare
An hundred Graces as in shade to sit.
Lykest it seemeth in my simple wit
Unto the fayre sunshine in somers day
That when a dreadfull storme away is flit,
Through the broad world doth spred his goodly ray:
At sight whereof each bird that sits on spray,
And every beast that to his den was fled,
Comes forth afresh out of their late dismay,
And to the light lift up theyr drouping hed.
So my storme-beaten hart likewise is cheared,
With that sunshine when cloudy looks are cleared.[6]

So beautiful are all those ladies that they show personified Beauty what she ought to look like.[7] Cupid or Beauty make their home in her, or mistake her for their reflection.[8] She is an angel,[9] a goddess, the Phoenix,[10] a new Muse[11] (the tenth), not made of the four elements which Medieval science believed all mortal things are.[12] Drayton's lady works miracles; he was both blind and deaf until he saw her.[13] All the while, these poets protest they do not flatter; others flatter but they praise

[1] Spenser, XXXIV [2] Drayton, 47 and 48. [3] Spenser, III. [4] No. 7 [5] LXXVI. [6] XL. [7] Sidney, LXXVII. [8] Drayton, 9, and Sidney, VIII. [9] Drayton, 40. [10] Drayton, 6. [11] Drayton, 8, *cf.* Shakes., XXXVIII. [12] Spenser, LV. [13] No. 12.

in plain verse, having no need to exaggerate.[1] They love so, that they willingly take the blame of any fault their lady has, and her only fault lies either in being so much above her poet, or in scorning him.

To all those happy blessings which ye have,
With plenteous hand by heaven upon you thrown,
This one disparagement they to you gave,
That ye your love lent to so meane a one.
Yee whose high worths surpassing paragon,
Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,
Ne but in heaven matchable to none,
Why did ye stoup unto so lowly state? [2]

Daniel [3] tells us the scorn of his lady will kill him, but when he goes to the Elysian fields and they ask why he died so young, he will shield her name and not blame her.

In fact this lady obsesses them. Her image is painted on their hearts.

Leave, lady! in your glasse of cristall clene,
Your goodly selfe for ever more to vew:
And in myselfe, my inward selfe, I meane,
Most lively lyke behold your semblant trew.
Within my hart, though hardly it can shew
Thing so divine to vew of earthly eye,
The fayre Idea of your celestiall hew,
And every part remaines immortally: [4]

They all like this conceit. Daniel [5] says

Why doth my mistress credit so her glass
Gazing her beauty, deigned her by the skies?
And doth not rather look on him, alas!
* * *

They imagine their eyes, heart, ears or tongue talking about her,[6] sometimes quarrelling which she belongs to, or again, the eyes may be the agent of the heart.[7] Reason too, is personified, but unhappily fights against Love, though always unsuccessfully.[8]

[1] Sidney, 1 to 6. [2] Spenser, LXVI. [3] XXX.
[4] Spenser, XLV, *cf.* Daniel, XIII. [5] XXXVII.
[6] Drayton, 33, and Daniel, XXVII. [7] Daniel, VIII. [8] Drayton, 31.

So much is the poet's identity bound up in his love that he cannot distinguish between himself and her, and they are fond of putting this in an I. O. U. form. One of Drayton's [1] on this theme ends

> And all is thine which hath been due to mee,
> And I a bankrupt, quite undone by thee.

Thus it is not much wonder that the poet finds heaven in his lady, or that his life depends on her. To gain her love, or merely her praise makes the one object of his life. She alone inspires his pen. Sidney [2] says,

> " Stella, thinke not that I by verse seeke fame
> ...Since all my wordes thy beautie doth indite
> And Love doth hold my hand, and make me write." [3]

Drayton strings his lute with Idea's golden hair, had he never seen her, he would never have written ; and Daniel [4] takes his lady's virtues for the sweet "ground" of his music.

Situations vary slightly according to real circumstances or the whim of the poet, but most of them are commonplaces, the outstanding one being the journey which the poet takes away from his love. They treat this in one manner. The poet finds no joy ;[5] nothing can console him.[6]

> Lyke as the Culver on the bared bough,
> Sits mourning for the absense of her mate:
> And in her songs sends many a wishfull vow,
> For his returne that seemes to linger late ;
> So I alone now left disconsolate,
> Mourne to my selfe the absence of my love:
> And wandring here and there all desolate,
> Seek with my playnts to match that mournful dove:
> Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth hove,
> Can comfort me, but her owne joyous sight:
> Whose sweet aspect both God and man can move,
> In her unspotted pleasauns to delight.
> Dark is my day, whyles her fayre light I mis,
> And dead my life that wants such lively blis.[7]

[1] No. 3. [2] XC and Drayton, 28. [3] No. 4. [4] LVII.
[5] Sidney, LV. [6] Sidney, XCVII. [7] Spenser, LXXXVIII.

He goes wearily and without interest, pining for his love,[1] thinking only of her [2] and hating everything he sees,[3] or seeing nothing,[4] except perhaps her reflection in everything. Sidney says that if in his absence he sees any

> amber-coloured head,
> Milk hands, rose cheekes, or lips more sweet more red,
> Or seeing jett black, yet in blacknes bright ;
> They please, I do confesse, they please mine eyes
> But why? because of you they models be.
>
> Not them, O no, but you in them I love.[5]

The lady destroys her poet's rest at nights :

> Now that of absense the most irksome night,
> With darkest shade doth overcome my day ;
> Since *Stella's* eyes wont to give mee my day ;
> Leaving my hemisphere leave me in night,
> Each day seems long, and longs for long stayed night;
> The night as tedious, woos th'approach of day:
> Toyled with dustie toyles of busie day,
> Languisht with horrors of the silent night.
> Suffering the evils both of day and night,
> While no night is more darke than is my day,
> Nor no day hath lesse quiet than my night;
> With such bad mixture of my night and day;
> That living thus in blackest winter night,
> I feel the flames of hottest summer's day.[6]

Or again he says that when night pursuades others to sleep

> With windows ope then most my heart doth lie,
> Viewing the shape of darknes and delight.[7]

but when that "sweet air which is Morn's messenger" calls others to wake, "In tomb of lids, then buried are mine eyes"

[1] Spenser LII (in absence but not on a journey)
[2] Daniel, LII and LIII.
[3] Spenser, XXXV.
[4] Spenser, LXXXVIII. [5] XCI.
[6] Sidney, LXXXIX, *cf.* XCVI, and XCVIII.
[7] XCIX.

ashamed to find "Such light in sense, with such a darkened mind." Spenser has the same plaint:

Since I did leave the presence of my love,
Many long weary dayes I have outworne:
And many nights, that slowly seemd to move
Theyr sad protract from evening untill morne.[1]
For when as day the heaven doth adorne,
I wish that night the noyous day would end:
And when as night hath us of light forlorne,
I wish that day would shortly reascend.
Thus I the time with expectation spend,
And faine my griefe with chaunges to beguile,
That further seems his terme still to extend,
And maketh every minute seems a myle.
So sorrow still doth seeme too long to last,
But joyous hours do fly away too fast.

Though without our sense of historical perspective, the Elizabethans realised that others had lived before them in a past which seemed very dim and antic (antique). They wondered what these antique people were like, how their beauties looked, what they would have thought of this beauty now—not that they have much real doubt. Drayton [2] asks Time to stop, and see his love, so that he may bear witness to her unique beauty. Constable [3] says that when the old poets sang of the beauty of their mistresses, they but prophesied of his. Coupled with this sense of the past they feel the imminence of the future, when the golden hairs of their loves will be silver wires and all their beauty depart[4]; then the lady can regain her beauty only by catching its reflection in the poet's verses. Winter will soon show her hair; the poet prays her therefore to "Love now whilst thou maist be loved again."[5] Then one day their lady will die and would perchance be forgotten were it not for her poet.

[1] LXXXVII. [2] VII. [3] No. 7 of Todd's MS.
[4] Daniel, XXXVIII. [5] Daniel, XXXIX and XL, etc.

Faire Proud! now tell me, why should faire be proud,
Sith all worlds glorie is but drosse uncleane;
And in the shade of death itself shall shroud,
However now thereof ye little weene!
That goodly Idoll now so gay be seene,
Shall doffe her fleshes borrowd fayre attyre;
And be forgot as it had never beene,
That many now much worship and admire!
Ne any then shall after it inquire,
Ne any mention shall thereof remaine:
But what this verse, that never shall expyre,
Shall to you purchas with her thankles paine.
Faire! be no longer proud of that shall perish,
But that which shall you make immortall, cherish.[1]

This like many of the others, is an old theme copied from Ronsard and Du Bellay,[2] but very sweetly naturalised in English, especially by Spenser in One day I wrote her name upon the strand.[3]

Besides a more or less happy, ideal love, their heaven, the sonneteers poetise their rebuffs, their depressions, the cruelty of their mistress, the sordid, or at least painful side of love, their hell. The two attitudes contrast vividly, almost illogically in some of the sonneteers. Sidney and Spenser on the whole write happily, because they record a real love; Spenser married his lady and Sidney's poems to his read sincerely. The more fashionable love-makers, like Daniel and Drayton write on the whole dejectedly, necessarily so; following the custom, they address their fictitious love sonnets to some prominent lady already married. The poets thus fortified themselves against a breach of promise case, but limited their theme; they could not very well pretend the happiness of Sidney in discovering that his lady loved him, nor end with Spenser's *Epithalamion*; they

1 Spenser, XXVII.

2 Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life* gives a list of the "sources" of Shakespeare's conceits; some of my references coincide with his, though my illustrations are intended to show the general type of sonnet familiar to Shakespeare before he wrote his, rather than to give the particular sources of particular sonnets.

3 LXXV *cf.* Daniel XLIII-V.

doom themselves from the outset to write almost nothing but tears and sighs. It was the fashion for poets to exaggerate their misery as much as the perfections of their lady. Fortune herself deals unkindly with the doleful suitor; he is her orphan as Daniel calls himself, born to bear the scorn of the ideal lady, a scorn which saps his life and will eventually kill him. The sonneteers soon become old and worn. Daniel[1] says that "cares have tiled deep furrows" in his brow, and Drayton,

> Looking into the glasse of my youths miseries,
> I see the ugly face of my deformed cares,
> With withered brows, all wrinkled with despaires.[3]

Their poetry rings with the clashing of sorrow with joy; their hearts being always in some sort of conflict, half joyful half miserable.

> The love which me so cruelly tormenteth
> So pleasing is in my extremest pain
> That all the more my sorrow it augmenteth
> The more I love and do embrace my bane.[4]

Sometimes the poet's reason and love conflict,[5] sometimes he is miserable from not knowing what he had best do,[6] and often merely from the uncertainty.

> How long shall this lyke dying lyfe endure,
> And know no end of her owne misery;
> But waste and wear away in termes unsure,
> Twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully.
> Yet better were attonce to let me die,
> And shew the last ensample of your pride:
> Then to torment me thus with cruelty,
> To prove your power, which I too well have tride.
> But yet if in your hardned brest ye hide,
> A close intent at last to shew me grace;
> Then all the woes and wrecks which I abide,
> As means of bliss I gladly will embrace.
> And wish that more and greater they might be,
> That greater meede at last may turn to me.[7]

[1] XXVI. [2] IV. [3] 14. [4] Spenser, XLII.
[5] Drayton, 31. [6] Spenser, XLIII. [7] Spenser, XXV.

They are alternately in heaven and hell. Sidney pleads with Stella not to look unkindly on him with

> Those blest eyes where all my hopes do dwell
> No domes shall make ones Heaven become his Hell.[1]

Drayton almost goes crazy between the two emotions.

> Why do I speak of joy, or write of love,
> When my heart is the very den of horror,
> And in my soul the pains of hell I prove
> With all his torments and infernal terror?
> And Bedlamlike thus raving in my grief
> Now rail upon her hair, now on her eyes,
> Now call her Goddess, then I call her Thief,
> Now I deny her, then I do confess her,
> Now I do curse her, then again I bless her.[2]

This makes a good description of the typical Elizabethan sonnet, always at one extreme. They idolize a woman so perfect and lovely that she subdues the heart of all men; Cupid is no longer the God of love, being robbed by the poet's goddess, who now steals men's hearts for her relief.[3] Because of her cruelty in taking their love and giving only scorn, their ideal becomes a soreness and they revile her.

> Trust not the treason of those smiling looks,
> Until ye have their guileful trains well tried;
> For they are like but unto golden hooks,
> That from the foolish fish their baits do hide:
> So she with flattering smiles weak hearts doth guide
> Unto her love, and tempt to their decay;
> Whom being caught she kills with cruel pride,
> And feeds at pleasure on the wretched prey:
> Yet, even whilst her bloody hands them slay,
> Her eyes look lovely and upon them smile;
> That they take pleasure in her cruel play,
> And dying, do themselves of pain beguile.
> O mighty charm! which makes men love their bane,
> And think they die with pleasure, live with pain.[4]

[1] LXXXVI. [2] No. 43. [3] Drayton, 26. [4] Spenser, XLVII.

Yet again Spenser asks why nature gave such a fair face to such a beast.[1] Daniel is particularly bitter;[2] his love holds yet repulses him; give back, he[3] says, your golden hair to the golden ore, your eyes to the stars, your pearls to the East, your hands to ivory, your breathing sweet to Arabian Odours, your blush to Aurora, and "thy fierce and cruel mind, to *Hyrcan* Tyrges, and to ruthles Beares." They become vindictive; Daniel[4] writes so that everyone may "blame my lovelesse fair," so that all the world may see her fault.[5] Thus the lady who is sometimes their "good angel"[6] becomes a devil. The love which idolizes one moment slanders the next.

The whole thing was very artificial and conceited, not only in expression, but despite occasional sincerities, in the conception. We may see how their attitude differs from ours in Constable's sonnet on the death of Lady Rich's daughter, whose horoscope the poet had read more favourably.

He that by skill of stars doth fates foretell,
If reason give the verdit of his side,
Though by mischance things otherwise betyde
Then he foretold,—yet doth he calcule well.
A phoenix if she live must needs excell,
And this by reason's laws should not have dy'd:
But thus it chanc't nature cannot abyde
More than one phoenix in the world to dwell.
Now as the mother phoenix death should slay,
Her beautie's light did dazzle so his eye,
As, while he blindfold let his arrowe flye,
He slew the younge one which stood in the way.
Thus did the mother 'scape—and thus did I,
By good illhap, fayle of my prophecie.

This would be in too bad taste now, when we expect our poets to mean what they say. Elizabethans did not think of

[1] XXX, *cf.* Drayton, 80: *Three sorts of serpents do resemble thee.* [2] XVIII.
[3] XIX. [4] II. [5] XV. [6] Drayton, 8 and 40.

poetry in our desperately sincere way. Their refinements were superficial and did not go deeply into the feelings. We must try to forget the solemn and noble thing the sonnet becomes later. The Elizabethan sonnets, growing out of their songs, are really lyrics ; we do not get the right feeling of them if we expect the high sincerity and the sheer nobility we find in Wordsworth and Milton. Even their serious sonnets were graceful and neat ; what Puritan thought the Elizabethan poets had, did not usually interfere with their cake-and-ale expression of it. We must not read into Shakespeare a solemnity and majesty that is not there. When Shakespeare died, his friends mourned him as a "sweet singer," the "Swan of Avon," the "Star of Poets," or "The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage" ; he is rather "fancies child" than the poet of solemn emotions. His sonnets are more lovable than grand, sweet rather than sublime, and this was what the Elizabethan love sonnet aimed at being.

But even if we approach Shakespeare's sonnets expecting solemnity it will not do much harm if we already know the other sonneteers and are easily influenced by what we read. The expectation of a solemn feast checked me for a little ; I felt puzzled or at least surprised, then I found myself suppressing a smile, till finally, at about the third sonnet or so, I gave way to mirth, realizing that he is all the while quietly pulling our legs. Though his sonnet parodies are often more lovely than the sonnets he bases them on, a humorous twinkle dances in the light of their poetry. Shakespeare was not a satirist, he rarely rouses censorious or damaging laughter ; he does not bring things into disrepute when he laughs at them, for it is possible to treat the most sacred emotions humorously and not destroy their sanctity if one's humour is very gentle. In *Love's Labour Lost*, probably the first play he wrote alone after having learnt his job collaborating with other dramatists, Shakespeare parodies the literary fashions of the hour, including the sonnet, yet retains most that was charming in the fashion he parodies. In

the same way, his sonnets are the parody of a creative poet, who cannot help creating lovely things as he parodies. Yet though most of the sonnets carry honey as well as a sting, not sufficient are made of honey alone, to break the thread of irony running through the sequence.

> That time of year thou mayst in me behold
> When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
> Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
> Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.
> In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
> As after sunset fadeth in the west:
> Which by and by black night doth take away,
> Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.
> In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
> That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
> As the death-bed whereon it must expire
> Consum'd with that which it was nourish'd by.
> This thou perceiv'st, which makes thy love more strong
> To love that well which thou must leave ere long.[1]

We tend to suppress our mirth when we come to sonnets like this. If we say that Shakespeare wrote this for a "rag," some one will certainly ask "but where is the humour here?" It is not in the yellow leaf, not in the ruined choirs, neither in the twilight, nor the dying fire, nowhere in the poetry, but in the fact that Shakespeare was probably not thirty when he wrote it. In 1598, when Meres talks of his sonnets, he was 34, and many think he wrote them seven years before this. If we recollect that all the young poets bemoaned themselves like men of seventy only more ardently, we can see the joke in the young man, Shakespeare, mocking them with a groan even more septuagenarian. If we examine the sonnet closely, we notice that it is the poetry not of how an old man feels, but of an autumn evening, and of dying fires; as these resemble old age, so is it the poetry of old age but not otherwise; the final couplet

[1] LXXIII.

closes too smartly if the sonnet were felt seriously. Once we have dropped a certain number of sentimental tears over sere and yellow leaves, it is difficult to see the fun; we refuse to turn poetry which makes decrepit man seem beautiful, into a flippant jest. But if we can get over this, the sonnet becomes more charming for its smile.

KATHARINE M. WILSON

(To be continued.)

THE VOICE

My groping soul keeps calling to thy soul,
Across the barren wastes of this earth-world;
Cans't thou not hear the echo of my voice
In the pale dawn, in radiant day, in
Muted twilight or the glam'rous Tropic
Night of silver moon-light and of stars,
Calling thee, though my earthly lips be mute?
All through the bitter years, this outward self
Keeps vigil, wrapped in silence, holding close
Within sealed doors the clamour of a voice
That will not cease while Time still measures life.
My seeking soul keeps calling to thy soul,
Across the endless lengths of weary days ;
Cans't thou not pause in all thy busy hours
That claim thy substance in its petty bonds,
And brush aside the veil, to look beyond?
Oh love, lift up thy head above the murk
Of slavery to earth, and clasp within
Thy heart the echo of that deathless call
That cannot cease until our soul's re-birth !

LILY STRICKLAND

THE FUTURE OF OUR FOREIGN EXCHANGE BANKS

(EVIDENCE SUBMITTED BEFORE THE CENTRAL BANKING ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.)

Early Beginnings.

Prior to the starting of the organised exchange banks and the exchange markets, the indigenous bankers looked after the internal and external exchange requirements of the people.[1] The balance of international payments being in favour of the country gold and silver flowed[2] in freely. Such intricate economic problems as trade adversity fluctuations did not arise on any important scale.

With the advent of the British East India Company and the foreign trading companies of the western nations foreign exchange business began to develop and an insignificant part of it might have been conducted by the Indian concerns and "black merchants" as the Indian people were styled in the

[1] Until 1796-97 the Governments of the Provinces used to enter into contracts with the shroffs or the indigenous bankers for the securing of resources in the different centres. Due to the Accountant-General Mr. T. Myers the practice of the sale of bills and the inviting of open competition was adopted so that this competition tended to secure more favourable rates than before. See the Public Consultations, Fort William, Public Department, Government Manuscript Records, Imperial Record Office, .th January 1800, No. 47. The Bombay Government adopted this practice so that by selling bills on the General Treasury at Calcutta it could secure the additional revenue needed to meet its requirements.

[2] Bengal, for instance, not only paid for all its imports but could finance the requirements of other provinces and the China trade at the same time. This led to the drain of specie but gradually it was condoned by a development of the export trade, the founding of banks and a thorough organisation of the currency system. See the Public Department Records—The general Public Letter written in April, 1809 to the Court of Directors so as to convince them of the necessity to grant a charter of incorporation to the Bank of Calcutta It was only after receiving this charter that the name was changed to the "Bank of Bengal." Up till 1809 the Bank of Calcutta was always referred to as the Government Bank in the index of the Government records.

records of the East India Company. It was not until the Agency Houses happened to conduct money exchanging, banking and commission business, etc., that there was any advent of the organised banking system into the country. The first large-scale moffusil banks were the Union Bank of Calcutta (1829), the Agra and the United Service Bank (1833) and the Bank of Western India (1842) and the Commercial Bank of India (1845). These were unlimited co-partnership banks and their avowed object was, of course, internal remittance and banking business. But as the heirs of the goodwill of the Agency Houses they soon began to acquire foreign exchange business and the prohibition on the part of the Presidency Banks helped them a good deal in this direction.[3]

Advent of the Foreign Exchange Banks.

From 1851 the entry of the exchange banks into India becomes noticeable.[4] More banks would have been started if the East India Company had been more tolerant towards them.[5] During 1858 to 1862 the Comptoiré' Escompte de Paris gained entry into this country. Gradually the British, American, German, Dutch, Japanese and the Portuguese banks began to conduct foreign exchange business in this country.

The domestic banking system being insignificant and the few major banks being restricted largely by statutory regulation, these foreign exchange banks, though few, soon acquired prominence. They secured monopoly over the exchange and remittance functions. So late as in 1875 the Anglo-Indian Exchange Banks were hardly considered as "banking

[3] At the instance of the Director Cockerell this prohibition was enacted. See my Present-Day Banking in India, 3rd Edition, Appendix III.

[4] The Oriental Banking Corporation was the first chartered bank of London to gain entry into India.

[5] See the opposition of the East India Company to the starting of a Bank of India in 1836, the Bank of Asia in 1840 and the Chartered Bank of Asia in 1851. See the Bank of Asia Correspondence issued as a Parliamentary Paper in 1843, Vol. XXXV.

institutions."[6] Working in an uncongenial atmosphere and subject to the deterrent disabilities of controlling branches stationed thousands of miles away from the head office the administrative capacity of the exchange banks might have had been seriously undermined but for several helpful factors. Their commanding resources, the lack of effective competition on the part of the small joint-stock banks at the time of their entry into this country and their implicitly following the unwritten rules of sound banking soon earned for them the respect and confidence of the public and gave them an opportunity to succeed and outdistance the local banks inspite of all benefits which the latter could derive from the patronage of local people and merchants.

By the time the exchange troubles of 1872 to 1892 began to appear the Indian Exchange Banks wisely succeeded in sending back the whole or a large part of their capital to their head office.[7] At present about 18 such foreign exchange banks exist. All these are foreign-owned banks with their head office outside India. They do not deal with the financing of internal trade or industries *quite on a large scale even in the slack season* when they find plenty of loanable resources in their hand. They are unhampered by any discriminatory laws as is the case in America or in the foreign countries.[8] Spreading their operations over a

[6] See the Evidence of the Deputy Governor before the Select Committee on the Banks of Issue of 1875.

[7] See the Evidence of Sir Alfred Dent before the 1898 Committee on Indian Currency, Qn. 1959.

[8] See Willis and Edwards " Banking and Business," New York, 1925 Edn., p. 28. See also Willis and Steiner, Federal Reserve Banking Practice, New York, 1926 Edn., p. 552 France, Denmark, Turkey, Japan, and Spain have special restrictions imposed on foreign banks but wherever such regulations have prevailed it has become the habitual practice on their part to affiliate themselves with domestic capitalists and start institutions working under local laws. Even England is supposed to have scented dangers in this matter and the Cunliffe Committee recommends an examination of the situation with reference to the " open door policy " maintained by the United Kingdom as regards the entry of foreign banks. But so long as the United Kingdom invests abroad and is anxious to retain the world's financial leadership the London money market must be wide enough to allow operations in diverse currencies and foreign banks must be allowed to conduct

wide area these banks have succeeded in minimising the risks arising from local trade fluctuations. As in Japan where a number of important private Japanese banks exist with extensive foreign departments both at home and abroad we have no such domestic institutions on any important scale. They are conspicuous by their absence. It has been an oft-repeated cry on the part of the nationalist economists that locally directed exchange banks do not exist.

Exchange Brokers.

Although there are exchange brokers in the important money centres, yet they do not exist in such numbers as in the case of the well-developed exchange markets of London or New York. There are also finance brokers who are sometimes interested in bonds and shares but their exchange business is little. Exchange brokers can be defined as those whose sole business is broking exchange bills and conducting deals in future.

Aggregate Foreign Exchange Bills.

The aggregate amount of foreign exchange bills [9] which can be drawn through the foreign exchange banks can be arranged roughly under—

(1) Imports and exports.
(2) Gold and silver
(3) Invisible trade.
(4) Capital movements.

But as no accurate figures can indeed be available under all the above headings specially three and four being purely conjectural it is only a rough idea that can be gained of the actual

their operations. As a guarantee against repudiation the investment of the foreign banks in London would be of some use.

[9] See the Memorandum of the League of Nations on International Trade and Balance of Payments, 1913-1927, pp. 143-150.

exchange business transactions. To these must of course be added pure exchange speculations which can only be left to wild conjecture or happy guess. After the recent war this business has increased enormously but it is not yet the usual practice on the part of the Indian merchants to cover all exchange transactions of theirs.

Exchange Rates.

Orthodox foreignexcha nge theory asks us to analyse supply and demand for understanding the fluctuations in the exchange rates. The modern exponents of this theory like Cassel, Keynes and others consider the purchasing power parity as the true indicator of the trend of changes in the foreign exchange rates at least in the long run.[10] During the short period speculation, budgetary situation, and capital movements, exercise their influence. Due to the fact that the Government of India pursues a policy of stabilising exchanges the deviations from the artificially established par cannot be very wide nor lasting for a long time. During the slack season the exchange rates would be at the lower level or the gold export point and unless monetary stringency were to act as a buoy exchange practically would be only roughly $\frac{1}{32}d.$ or $\frac{1}{64}d.$ above the gold export point from the country *viz.*, 1*s.* $5\frac{49}{64}d.$ Within these limits it is the exchange banks which receive exchange news from the chief important centres of the world that determine the rates every day on the foreign countries. These are published in the local newspapers on the next day. The other Indian Joint-Stock Banks who conceivably conduct foreign exchange on a limited scale for their own customers adjust their rates on the foreign exchange bank rates. Though there is not much brisk activity on the part

[10] See Gustav Cassel, The World's Monetary Problems, J. M. Keynes, Tract on Monetary Reform, p. 88. See Angell, Theory of International Prices, pp. 188-90 ; Nogaro, The Modern Monetary System; D. Bordes The Austrian Crown, pp. 198-200; U. S. Commission, Gold and Silver Inquiry Series, 9 (1925).

of the Indian Exchange brokers some amount of arbitraging in exchanges and dealings in futures are entered into on their own account. They are undoubtedly busy making and receiving quotations of rates from merchants and banks and it is not germane to this topic to discuss their activity and bustle at the telephone.[11] Their anticipations however do contribute something towards levelling the exchange rates.

Characteristic Features of Exchange Fluctuations.

A scientific study of the exchange rates points out that there are two distinct features, *viz.*, the strengthening of the exchange rate in the busy season and the slackening of the exchange rate in the monsoon season when it is at the lowest level. This general movement is usually smooth and no wide range and spread of fluctuations present itself. The lack of trade or export bills, the abundance of money in the slack season which is usually in the first half of the official year (April to September) and the floating of the rupee loans whose sole proceeds have to be converted into foreign currency to finance capital expenditure on goods explain the low exchange rate of the rupee. This is the period of weak exchange. Expanding trade increases export bills and tight money conditions raise the exchange rate to the gold import point of the country. This is the period of strong exchange. Each successive season these features are reproduced with almost clocklike regularity. Under the Gold Exchange Standard system there was a literal pegging of the exchange rates of the silver rupee and no great deviations or spread of the rates could be noticed in either of the seasons. The releasing of gold or gold exchange from the Gold Standard Reserve at the gold export point from the country and the purchasing of unlimited quantities of sterling whether required for immediate *bona fide* expenditure use of the Govern-

[11] For a comparison and contrast of the work of our Exchange Brokers with those of the West see F. T. Rushforth, The Indian Exchange Problem and Phillip's Modern Foreign Exchange.

ment or not when the exchange rate is fast rising, are the present-day methods to curb the exchange fluctuations. Acting as the currency authority the Government have been in a position to have tolerable control over the exchange market. On the whole the system has worked fairly well. At certain times the Government did not resort to the release of gold from the Gold Standard Reserve at the gold export point but have used the "Defence Treasury Bills" to contract currency and steady exchange at $\frac{1}{64}d.$ higher than the gold export point from the country. Similarly gold might not have been permitted to enter the country by unlimited sale of purchase of sterling at a lower rate than the gold import point of the country. According to some measure or other the cherished object of stability of exchange has been realised. The statutory obligation under the Indian Currency Act of 1927 is being fulfilled. Exchange remains pegged at the 1*s*. 6*d*. ratio. The Bankers who dislike the treasury bills floated at competitive rates or even higher rates might have noticed a few malpractices. The Government are undoubtedly feeling the strain to maintain exchange a burdensome one but the net result that the ratio has been observed must be conceded. The *status quo* has always been maintained and there was no serious exchange slump at any time during these two years under the regime of 1*s*. 6*d*. ratio.

Present-Day Characteristics of the Exchange Market.

Throughout this vast continent there is not one important city that can be called the "New York" or "London" of India. The position of either the Clive Street of Calcutta or the wider money market of Bombay cannot be compared with that of the Wall Street in America or that of the Lombard Street in the United Kingdom. Though Bombay has greater share of exchange dealings than either Calcutta or Madras it would be entirely erroneous to minimise the importance of Karachi and Rangoon as important exchange markets.

Compared with the dim early beginning of the exchange markets the first salient characteristic is the close competition that exists in the market. This can be easily discerned by noting "the narrowing" of the exchange points,[12] while formerly the difference used to be ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1*d*. on a rupee the present-day difference is only *d*. on the average. Difference in exchange might sometimes be as low as $\frac{1}{64}d$. or even worse as compared with the fair difference of the earlier days.[13] Direct rates between Calcutta and the foreign money centres other than London have also been established under the stress of free competition. But such firm connection as exists with London is not to be met with in the case of the foreign centres.

Nextly, many exchange bills D/A and D/P have arisen under the documentary credit principle. With the growth of the volume of trade the market has become wide as well as steady. Banker's clean bills have also arisen to a certain extent. A clean continuing letter of credit is not

[12] The following quotation from the Bombay Castle Gazette explains the exchange operations of the Oriental Bank, the first really strong foreign exchange bank of this country as Benjamin White puts it:

Exchange on London	at six months'	sight above	£50	at	1*s*.-10	and 1/4*d*. per Re.
,, ,,	at three ,,	,,	£20	at	1*s*.-9	and 7/8*d*. ,,
,, ,,	at one ,,	,,	£20	at	1*s*.-9	and 5/8*d*. ,,
,, ,,	at one day's	sight above	£5	at	1*s*.-9	and 1/2*d*. ,,

See the notification of the Oriental Bank in the Bombay Castle Gazette, Rampart Row, 12th Sept., 1849.

A comparison of the above with modern exchange rate quotations makes this plain, *On Oct. 5th, 1929*, exchange rates in Calcutta were as follows:

T.T.	1*s*.-5$\frac{3}{16}$*d*.
on Demand	1*s*.-5$\frac{1}{16}$*d*.
Banks buying	
three months' sight bills	1*s*.-6$\frac{1}{16}$*d*.
four months' sight bills	1*s*.-6$\frac{3}{16}$*d*.
six months' ,,	1*s*.-6$\frac{11}{16}$*d*.
sight bills	1*s*.-6*d*.
T.T.	1*s*.-5$\frac{15}{16}$*d*.

[13] See the Speech of the Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Annual meeting, March, 1928.

generally issued to the Indian importer as yet. So far as the time-length of the bills is considered thirty, sixty, and ninety days' bills have come into vogue. Sterling bills are predominant and there are not very many rupee bills even in the matter of our trade with the Eastern countries. The lack of an open discount market precludes the early development of the rupee bills and the absence of the latter has been rendering it difficult to create a short term money market where these can be discounted. This is the vicious circle facing the banking reformers at the present day. The habits of the merchants and the industrialists also must change before bills of exchange can become more abundant. "Manufactured bills" for emergency currency purposes arise in the busy season and practically disappear when the Imperial bank realises no such necessity.[14] The market for the exchange bills consists practically of the exchange brokers and the exchange banks. There are not a large number of buyers of hundies in the native bazar even, as in the case of the newly created bill market in the federal Reserve banking system.[15] The sole burden of financing exports and imports consequently falls on these foreign exchange banks and the London money market in so far as the latter rediscounts the export bills of the Exchange Banks.

Again there is not much of bank acceptance by the Indian Joint Stock Banks as in the case of the London Acceptance Credit or the Federal Reserve Banking system of America. Unless an extensive use of bank acceptances is forthcoming and an adequate market exists there would be no proper co-ordination between the activities of the two kinds of banks, *viz.*, the exchange and the commercial banks. The absence of rupee bills in the import trade is still a marked feature. If the exchange banks need adequate funds for their operations in India there is at present no means of rediscounting or disposing of their import

[14] See A. C. McWatters, Memorandum before the Hilton-Young Commission.

[15] See W. R. Burgess, The Federal Reserve Banks and the Money Market, Chapter on the Bill Market.

bills in this country. They fall back on the Imperial Bank and secure advances on securities or rediscount their DIA export bills in London and send their resources to finance their Indian business.

The Imperial Bank and the Exchange Banks.

The old historical error that the exchange banks financed foreign trade solely with the help of their own capital resources during the years 1860 to 1900 needs no refutation at all.[16] The Imperial Bank of India finances foreign trade only when it helps the exchange banks who might feel reluctant to move funds from London if better money rates were to prevail there or if rapidly fluctuating exchange rates would threaten to involve them in heavy losses if they were to resort to London. If Indian rates are not high enough the same result would happen. The exchange Banks would secure advances on securities from the Imperial Bank and dependence on the Imperial Bank becomes a marked feature at such times. Thus it indirectly contributes at such times towards the financing of foreign trade. But if the Government were to force the Imperial Bank to raise the bank rate to 8 per cent. as it was done in February, 1929, it might tempt the exchange banks to remove funds to India but much depends on the prospects of the money rates in London and India than anything else. The fluidity of capital depends more on interest rates prevailing at the time than any administrative measures. It would not be far wrong to say that under certain circumstances the Imperial Bank might be forced to finance foreign trade also. It must also be remembered that the Imperial Bank is allowed to conduct foreign exchange business to meet the personal

16 See the Memorial of the Exchange Banks to the Viceroy sent on the 3rd February, 1900, quoted in the Appendix XV, p. 409. Chamberlain Commission, Interim Report, and the Letter of the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State on the 3rd December 1900. *Ibid*, Appendix XV, p. 407.

requirements of its customers alone. This amounts on an average to about six crores of rupees.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

(To be continued)

THE SPELL

No matter how I strive to shut my heart
To all the magic beauty of the East,
Its echoes sound for ever hauntingly,
I close my eyes and hear again the throb
Of muted drums, or melodies of flutes;
I breathe the mingled perfumes of the night;
I see the creeping beauty of the palms
In silhouette against the moonlit sky;
I feel the old enchantment in my soul;
I would be calmly unresponsive;
Serene with reason and philosophy,
Yet all my senses leap to join once more
The pageantry of dreams that India brings.

LILY STRICKLAND

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF LOCKE'S THEORY OF RELATIONS.

It is hard to reconcile the discussion of knowledge in the fourth Book of the *Essay* with the analysis of ideas in Book II. In the latter, Locke had so frequently treated isolated ideas as themselves complete contents of knowledge that it perplexes us to find him in the former maintaining that, in order to know, we must first have ideas and then perceive their agreement or disagreement. In point of fact, almost all the difficulties of Locke's theory of knowledge centre round his ambiguous use of the term 'idea.' When he refers to stimulation of the senses as giving rise to ideas, he is dealing with the natural conditions under which a change in the mental life comes about. He is employing the term 'idea' to denote a particular phase of the conscious subject's existence,—in the sense, namely, in which Bradley spoke of the 'psychological idea.' But when, on the other hand, he introduces by aid of the preposition 'of' the thought of relation, he is using the term in an altogether different significance. The 'idea *of* blue' or 'the idea *of* extension,' for example, is a short mode of stating a highly complicated fact,—knowledge, namely, on the part of the conscious subject of some definitely distinguishable feature or characteristic, a knowledge which involves reference by the conscious subject to this feature or characteristic as distinct from himself as knowing or apprehending. These two significations are, however, *toto genere* distinct. In the one case, we are naming a mental event or occurrence; in the other case, we are not naming an event or occurrence at all, but a portion of the wider whole that may be called 'knowledge.' A psychological investigation of the mode of origin of 'ideas' is never an adequate treatment of 'ideas' in the epistemological sense.

Moreover, when Locke is strictly true to his definition of the term 'idea,' as 'the object of the understanding when a man thinks,' it is clear that he is regarding it as in its own nature an individual fact. So conceived an 'idea' occupies an intermediate position. On the one hand, it is distinct from the faculties or operations of the mind which may be exercised upon it. And, on the other hand, it is equally distinct from the real external object knowledge—no reasoning, no imagination, no distinct thoughts at all. A man infallibly knows, we are told, that what he calls white and round are the very ideas they are and are not such ideas as he calls red and square, yet, as Hume was presently to insist, identity does not mean simple unity. If we are to speak of an 'idea' as the 'same with itself' that must mean that it is the 'same with itself in its manifold appearances,'—that is to say, we must be acquainted with something that exists continuously. Locke apparently does take identity to be equivalent in meaning with unity. And, according to the account he had given in the second Book, the idea of unity is a simple idea, given to us, that is to say, and not therefore involving any intellectual act on our part. Every idea of sense, every idea of reflection, is one, and accordingly unity is 'suggested to the understanding by every object without and every idea within.'[1] But how is it possible, on Locke's premises, that an idea can be simple which is not 'given' through any of the avenues by which sense 'ideas' are said by him to be 'given,' and which is certainly not 'given' as an 'idea of reflection'? Sense-qualities and mental states,—these are objects directly known, and are, therefore, it is assumed, contents of ideas which are 'simple.' If, then, unity is involved in every simple idea, it must be a part of the content of that simple idea. Obviously, however, it is not; and even if it were, the mere fact of its being so would not account for its being recognised as such and as being common to 'every object

[1] II. 7. 7. (All references are to Fraser's edition of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*)

without and every idea within.' Evidently an act of discriminating would be necessary even for distinguishing one part of the content from the rest of the content of a 'simple idea' from the rest of its content; and, on Locke's own shewing, the result would not be entitled to the designation of a 'simple idea.'

A similar consideration holds with reference to the idea of existence. Like the idea of unity, it is said to be a simple idea of sensation and reflection, 'suggested to the understanding by every object without and every idea within.'[1] This statement involves, as Green points out,[2] that every so-called 'simple idea' is, in truth, composite, made up of that which distinguishes it from other ideas and of that which it has in common with other ideas; and, since it appertains to all ideas, there would appear to be no means of determining the content of this common element. Yet Locke expressly distinguishes 'real ideas' from what he calls fantastical ideas,' and describes the former as having 'conformity with the existence of things,[3] whereas the latter have not. The truth is there is perpetual equivocation in the *Essay* between *an existent idea* and *the idea of existence*. Every idea, however 'fantastical' it may be, according to Locke's own shewing, exists ('when ideas are in our minds, we consider them as being actually there'); but only some ideas are 'real' as being ideas of existent entities ('we consider things to be actually without us,—which is that they exist or have existence').

It is, however, totally impossible to identify these two meanings of the term 'existence.' Indeed, one might raise the question whether, in any sense in which the term 'existence' is applied to 'things,' it is applicable to an 'idea,' when by that is meant a content apprehended, at all. The process or act of apprehending is doubtless an existent in the same sense in which

[1] II. 7. 7.
[2] Introduction to Hume's *Treatise*.
[3] II. 8

an external thing is said to be ; but whether an ' idea ' defined as 'the object of the understanding when a man thinks' is properly so designated is another matter. But the point I wish here to emphasize is the following : There can be no doubt that Locke repeatedly represents knowledge or experience as beginning with the awareness of ' simple ideas ' which are 'given' devoid of relation, and the mind as, by an activity of its own, proceeding to bring them into relation and to compound them. These simple ideas are, we are told, 'the materials of all our knowledge' ; and when the understanding is once stored with them, 'it has the power to repeat, compare, and write them, even to an almost infinite variety, and so can make at pleasure new complex ideas.[1] Or, again, ' the senses at first let in *particular* ideas, and furnish the yet empty cabinet, and the mind by degrees growing familiar with some of them, they are lodged in the memory, and names got to them. Afterwards, the mind, proceeding further, abstracts them, and by degrees learns the use of general names.[2] On the other hand, he no less frequently represents knowledge as beginning with the awareness of real things, and then takes 'ideas' to be ' ideas of ' such real things. The transition in the *Essay* from passages such as those just cited to others in which the senses are said to 'convey into the mind distinct perceptions of things' is surprisingly frequent. It is true that Locke warns us that if he speaks sometimes of ideas as in the things themselves, he is to be understood to mean those qualities in the objects which produce 'ideas' in us,[3] and that these qualities are merely 'powers' in the things in question to excite effects.[4] Yet the fact remains that he does assume that in some way we have ideas of the entities in which these powers reside, that we are not without ideas of the ' primary qualities ' of bodies, and that in some cases,

[1] II. 2. 2.
[2] I. 1. 15.
[3] II. 8. 8.
[4] II. 21. 2.

at least, we are acquainted with their 'particular bulk, figure, and motion.'[1] What, now, does this imply? It implies, in the first place, that ideas of bodies are ideas of substances. Locke's account of the 'idea of substance' is notoriously halting and confusing. He finds himself under the necessity of including in the whole complex idea of a 'thing' a part which is not capable of being referred to any simple idea. We enumerate the various qualities of a so-called 'thing,' each of these being referrable to a simple idea, 'and 'not imagining how these simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some *substratum* wherein they do subsist.'[2] Here, then, is an idea, very void certainly of content, not explicable by reference to any simple idea whether of sensation or of reflection, and apparently imposed upon us by certain necessitics of what is called 'imagination.' Locke did not, it would seem, consider what would follow had he been true to his principle that ideas not supplied by either sense or reflection are 'fictitious' and 'unreal.' The difficulties of the matter do not, however, end here. Along one line of reflexion, Locke appears to be saying that we first have the 'relative' idea of substance in general, and then come to have ideas of particular sorts of substances.[3] Whereas, along another line of reflexion, hs appears to hold that ideas of particular sorts of substance are prior to the general idea of substance, and that the latter results from a process of abstraction.[4] Yet, on the one hand, it is expressly affirmed that 'general and universal belong not to the real existence of things.'[5] And on the other hand, it is well-nigh impossible to understand how particular sorts of something 'we know not what' can be supposed to be primarily apprehended. On the one hand, the idea of substance is spoken of as compelling us to refer our ideas to the objective

[1] IV. 3. 24.
[2] II. 23. 1.
[3] II. 23. 3.
[4] II. 23. 6.
[5] III. 3. 11.

world of real fact,[1] and, on the other hand, it is insisted that this objective reference must be regarded as dependent on a problematic inference restricted to empirical combinations,[2] although, in the first *Letter* to Stillingfleet, the protest is lodged that the *being* of substance is not in any way rendered doubtful by the obscure and imperfect ideas we have of it. And, in the second place, in regard to the position above indicated, a fundamental consideration is this. If knowledge is supposed to start, as Locke seems driven in the end to suppose it does start, with the crude apprehension of complexes, that are in fact empirical conjunctions of simple ideas, and if each of these announces itself as an 'ectype' of an 'archetype,' although not necessarily a different archetype to each idea, it follows inevitably that relations must be regarded as veritable factors in existent entities, as subsisting, namely, between these existent entities, and between constituents of them. And, in truth, Locke was constrained to acknowledge this in so many words. "Most of the simple ideas that make up our complex ideas of substance are, he says, "only powers," or, "but so many relations to other substances."[3] It is clear from his statements that he is assuming that the relation of cause and effect is involved in the being of particular substances. "Secondary qualities are," he says, "nothing but the powers (which) substances have to produce several ideas in us by our senses, which ideas are not in the things themselves, otherwise than as anything is in its cause."[4] So, again, he tells us, in dealing with the relation of cause and effect[5] that, whatever is considered by us to operate to the producing any particular simple idea which did not before exist has for us the relation of a cause. And it is obvious from what he goes on to say that he is taking for granted that the relation between cause and effect holds between things or

[1] II. 23. 4.
[2] IV. 4. 11 and 12.
[3] II. 23. 37.
[4] II. 23. 9.
[5] II. 26. 1.

events in nature. Moreover, it is no less obvious that numerous relations,—those, for example, of place and extension, of succession in time, even those of identity and diversity—are frequently taken to be actual features in the external world.

Yes, but the trouble is that, in other connections, Locke is just as emphatic in declaring that ideas of relation, in common with complex ideas generally, are purely the 'work of the mind.' Whatever is not immediately given either by outer or inner sensation is regarded a mere 'thing of the mind.' Complex ideas are not given directly as manifestations of outward things or of the inner life; they are 'invented by the understanding.' Substance, whether as an abstract or as a complex idea, is the 'workmanship of the mind;' and if different statements in the *Essay* be put together (*e.g.*, II.21.3 and II.25.8), it would follow that power, as a relation, 'is not contained in the real existence of things.' And so, too, the idea of cause is not one of those which 'the mind has of things as they are in themselves,' but one which it obtains by bringing things to, and setting them by one another.'[1] In fine, ideas of relation, like those of substance, would seem, in pursuance of this line of argument, to be a direct contribution of the mind itself to the stock of ideas which were said, at the outset, to constitute 'all the materials of thinking,' and thus to fall outside the general view of 'experience' which had been proposed. Indeed, we are expressly told that relations are 'not contained in the real existence of things, but (are) something extraneous and superinduced,'[2] that they have 'no other reality but what they have in the minds of men,' and, consequently, ideas of them, as being archetypes, cannot differ from their archetypes.[3]

Even Professor Gibson, who strives to show that Locke is not exposed to much of the criticism that has been brought to bear on the *Essay*, is compelled to acknowledge that the

[1] II. 25. 1.
[2] II. 25. 8.
[3] II. 30. 4.

denial of the reality of relations is 'too prominent to be overlooked.'[1] But, he urges, it is not because they cannot be given as units of merely sensible experience that they are declared to be unreal; it is because the admission of their reality would be inconsistent with the traditional ontological scheme, which Locke had inherited of real entities as substances possessed of qualities. "The admission that relations to one another entered into the being of substances would have been fatal to the self-contained and independent existence which these were thought to possess." Accordingly, he thinks relations were conceived as purely accidental and 'external,' having no basis in the nature of their terms; and, in the last resort "the attempt was made to preserve the purity of the doctrine of substance by declaring them to be merely ideal." It is, however, difficult to discover this trend of thought in what Locke actually says. On the contrary, his reiterated contention is that we have no clear idea of substance at all, only a confused obscure idea of what it does, that we talk like children about it, and that it is only by the combinations of simple ideas and nothing else that we represent particular sorts of substances to ourselves. So far, then, from accepting the scholastic notion of substance, he would seem rather to be all the while inveighing against it.

The truth is, I think, that the inconsistency which I have been exhibiting is to be traced back to the initial position assumed by Locke with respect to 'experience.' Starting from the conception of a real world in which individual minds by their faculties participate, he naturally proceeded to interpret the 'experience' of the individual mind as resulting from the action of external entities upon it. It was equally natural for him to distinguish between the *reality* of that which is purely and simply 'given,' of that which is directly conveyed or transmitted to the mind, and the *unreality* of such additions

[1] *Locke's Theory of Knowledge* (Cambridge University Press), by James Gibson.

as may result from the mere play of the mind's own operations. The successive stages by which Locke was driven to qualify, amend, and even to contradict his initial position shews clearly enough that from that position no coherent theory of knowledge can be developed. Locke was throughout embarrassed by the necessity of retaining at the same time the view of ideas as being directly 'given,' as claiming, therefore, a right to the designation 'real,' *and* the view of those ideas as facts of mind, as being, therefore, no more than representative of the real. When ideas are regarded, in accordance with the former point of view, as independent entities, agreeing or disagreeing with one constantly combining together, or only coinciding *per accidens*, relations are inevitably conceived as 'extraneous and superinduced'; when ideas are regarded, in accordance with the latter point of view, as representative of the real, it becomes equally inevitable to recognise that 'there would be no room for positive knowledge at all, if we could not distinguish relation between our ideas.[1] But what Locke's procedure conclusively illustrates is the impossibility of writing both these points of view in one coherent doctrine of knowledge.

II

It is worth while pursuing somewhat further the conception of relations as the 'workmanship of the mind,' seeing that in one form or another this conception has played a prominent part in much subsequent speculation.

What Locke was bent upon doing, so far as our knowledge of external things is concerned, was to assign to sense-affection if not the whole, at all events the more important share in determining the significance of the phrase 'real existence.' And yet, as we have seen, it was impossible for him to remain true to this position. While, on the one hand, contending that ideas produced in the mind 'enter by the senses simple

[1] IV. 1. 5.

and unmixed',[1] that is to say, as unrelated units, he was nevertheless forced, on the other hand, to recognise that all ideas, of what kind soever, when attentively considered, include in them some kind of relation.[2] Take, for example, such ideas as those involved in every apprehension we have of external things, —the ideas, namely, of extension, duration, motion, power. All ideas of extension are said to contain a 'secret relation of parts.' The idea of figure is 'nothing but the relation which the parts of the termination of extension, or circumscribed space, have amongst themselves.'[3] In our idea of place, 'we consider the relation of distance betwixt anything, and any two or more points, which are considered as keeping the same distance one with another, and so considered as at rest.'[4] Again, men are said to derive their ideas of duration from reflecting on the train of ideas that succeed one another in their own understandings and without which they could have no notion of duration whatever might happen in the world.[5] Most of the denominations of things received from time are declared to be 'only relations.'[6] So too, the idea of notion is treated as an idea of relation; each phase of movement perishing the moment it begins, it cannot exist in different times, or in different places, as permanent entities can. And, once more, our idea of power, although it 'may well have a place among other simple ideas, and be considered as one of them,' yet includes in it some kind of relation, —a relation, namely, to action or change.[7] But when so much has been granted, it is evident that the ground has been cut from under the contention that the only real factor in our knowledge of external things

[1] II. 2. 1.
[2] II. 21. 3.
[3] II 13. 5.
[4] II. 13. 7.
[5] II. 14. 4.
[6] II. 26. 3.
[7] II. 21. 3.

is that which is represented by the given, constrained, impressed character of sense-affection.

The full significance of the question with which I am here concerned may perhaps best be brought out by comparing Locke's doctrine, in this context, with what is certainly the much more developed analysis undertaken by Kant in the first *Critique*. After the manner of Locke, although probably without having been directly influenced by the *Essay*, Kant proceeds by instituting a sharp distinction between the merely passive character of sensibility and the active function of the understanding. Through the former, sense-data are received through the latter; they are combined and referred to objects. Intuitions and notions, although wholly distinct in character and having different roots in human nature, are yet so related that except by their union no knowledge of objects is possible. No consideration is more emphatically insisted on by Kant than that the synthesis or conjunction involved in the knowledge of objects is never given. The material supplied must be abstractly represented after the fashion of isolated units, in no coherent connexion with one another. The special function of the understanding is, then, to introduce synthesis or connectedness into what would otherwise be a disjointed 'manifold' and taken in reference to mental action, such unification is always expressible as a 'notion' (*Begriff*). And it appeared to Kant possible to contemplate this process of unifying, or of forming notions, and thereby making indeterminate particulars matter of knowledge, quite in *abstracts* to isolate the understanding and to lay out the different lines along which its synthetical operations would proceed. The categories were, in fact, the several ways in which the synthesising or relating activity of the understanding expresses or manifests itself in arranging the material of sense-intuition. Now when Kant's table of categories is compared with the various 'ideas' that, under the head of 'simple' and 'mixed' modes, Locke had differentiated, it becomes apparent that, although the

Kantian distribution is unquestionably the more methodical and systematic, yet it is in no small measure anticipated in Locke's cruder treatment. The categories of quantity (unity, plurality, totality) are, for instance, clearly forestalled in what Locke has to say of unity, diversity and number, and, although the categories of quality (reality, negation and limitation) are not explicitly differentiated, they are certainly implied in what Locke refers to under other headings, whereas the so-called categories of relation (substance, cause, and interdependence) are discussed at length. Nor would it be altogether erroneous to assert that Locke anticipated to some extent the critical view of the function of the categories. It is true that Kant himself accuses Locke of '*sensualising* all notions of the understanding, that is, representing them as nothing but empirical, though abstract, reflective notions.' But the accusation was, in fact, ill-founded. On the contrary, Locke certainly assumed an operation of the understanding that was *sui generis*, an operation that gave rise to 'ideas' through means of which the raw materials of sense were elaborated and worked up into the form of objects.

And the point I wish to make is this. Thus to separate the shares contributed by sense and understanding, whether the contributions be regarded as due to the operation of supposed faculties or however else they may be accounted for, is inevitably tantamount to conceiving the object known as a combination, or *product* in which these two detached factors somehow come together. Such was, in truth, Locke's view ; and in his hands it led to a conclusion which, although differently expressed, is almost identical with that in which Kant too so frequently tended,—namely, that the element of reality in knowledge is that which is furnished to the mind from without. Whatsoever was added to the given ideas of sense Locke, as we have seen, designated 'ideal,' and he tries, at any rate, to allow to it no share in determining the content of the real. The fate that attends a violent separation

of that sort is seen perhaps most openly in the
After the *real* element has been thus severed from the *ideal* contribution of the mind, it has to be admitted that in all the 'given,' so far as it is a matter of knowledge at all, there is relation, that relations imply the mind, and that the secret core of real existence is for us an idea in regard to the content of which we can determine nothing,—the idea, namely, of substance. In this connexion, there is to be found an interesting approximation to Locke's result in one of Kant's well-known contentions. It is, Kant maintains, a primary function of the understanding to refer our perceptions to a ' something' as the object of sensuous intuition. But this ' something ' is no more than the 'transcendental object,' an X, of which we know nothing, and of which we can, from the actual structure of our understanding, know nothing, but which merely has the function of standing as a correlate of the unity of apperception to manifold in sensuous intuition. This pure concept of 'something=X,' which is said to be contained in all our apprehension, bears a striking resemblance to the 'uncertain supposition of we know not what' that Locke was bound to recognise as lying at the basis of our cognition of 'things.'

The *impasse* just noted would seem of itself to indicate that there must be something wrong with the premisses from which it has resulted. The fault lies, I think, at the door of the uncritical view of sense-apprehension that is assumed at the start. If sense-data be conceived as ' impressions ' made upon the mind by certain hypothetical external 'powers,' there is nothing for it but to regard them as unrelated, disconnected units, which require to be somehow arranged and welded together in order to constitute objects of knowledge. And, in that case, it is equally inevitable that the relating activity should be represented as a function of what, in contrast to mere sensibility, may not unnaturally be designated ' understanding ' or ' thought,' and that relations should be interpreted as dependent, both for their being and recognition, upon

mind. As against this view, I would however, contend that the initial fact in our experience is never of the nature of that passive reception which was the meaning given to the term 'sensation' both by Locke and Kant. In sense-apprehension there is doubtless stimulation of the organs of sense, but the stimuli are not *what* we apprehend; rather are they the occasioning conditions which give rise to the occurrence of the *act* of apprehending, and which do not enter into the content apprehended. The act of apprehension which is thus occasioned is directed not upon a disconnected multiplicity of 'impressions,' for there are none such, but upon a real thing, the characteristics of which are already related to one another and to the whole of which they are characteristics. And in and through the act of apprehension, the conscious subject gradually comes to distinguish these qualities and to recognise their modes of relation. When, for example, I judge that 'this is a book,' I do not 'superinduce' an idea or concept of unity upon a number of data that were previously destitute of it. Doubtless, the data are multiple; but they exhibit a unity of outline, of spatial position, and so on, which is as 'real' a factor in the given whole as the multiplicity itself. Again, it is doubtless true that the notion of unity is implied in any use of the term 'book;' but it does not follow from this that the idea or concept of unity is for me prior to the apprehension of the book. The truth rather is that unity as well as multiplicity is found or discovered in things, whereas the idea or notion of unity is arrived at by analysis of things or objects that are one. In *this* relation the abstract is not temporally prior but posterior to the concrete, the idea or notion to the apprehended fact. Or consider the causal relation. Here certainly we are not concerned with a relation which is *given* in the direct way in which spatial relations or such relations as resemblance and difference may be said to be given. But, for all that, it does not follow that the abstract notion of this relation is prior in our experience to concrete and particular

exemplifications of it, or that our empirical judgments as to the connexion of events in the realm of sense-perception are based on the general concept on causality, or that no experience of objective fact would be possible except in and through the thought of a universal order of sequence. In this instance, Locke, in his naive and inconsistent manner, would appear to be nearer the truth than Kant. For he did not recognise that our simplest representations of real change contains, not the abstract, not notion of cause, but concrete instances of constancy of relation on the strength of which the idea or concept of causation is subsequently formed. "Everything that has a beginning must have a cause is," he writes to Stillingfleet, "a true principle of reason, or a proposition certainly true; which we come to know by contemplating our ideas and perceiving that the idea of beginning to be is necessarily connected with the idea of something operating, which we call a cause; and so the beginning to be is perceived to agree with the idea of a cause, as is expressed in the proposition." And he agrees that the changes which we apprehend but do not initiate—we likewise come to refer to causes which we think of as efficient in producing them.

Relations in things are, then, I conclude, apprehended by precisely the same process of cognitive activity as the qualitative characteristics of these same things,—a process involving always discrimination and comparison. There is no reason whatever for assuming that the constituents and the relations are given by different processes. In apprehending the former we are likewise apprehending the latter. If, for example, we distinguish a square from an oblong, we must likewise distinguish the relations of the lines composing these figures. The contents which we apprehend are invariably wholes consisting of related elements, and the elementary relations of things are no less 'given,' in any intelligible sense of that term, than the elementary qualities of them are. Just because there are no contents 'given' without relations, it follows

that there is no need to postulate a mental activity to acquaint us with relations except the capacity to apprehend them.

III.

The crucial difficulties in Locke's view of relations come perhaps most pointedly to the surface when we proceed to inquire as to the way in which he deals with two distinct kinds of relation that require to be distinguished,—namely, relations between truths and relations between existent things or their characteristics.

In 'ideas' is to be found, according to the theory, the material of our knowledge; the mind in all its thoughts and reasonings hath no other immediate object but its own ideas. Knowledge can, then be concerned with ideas only, and accordingly, is defined as the perception of the connexion and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy, of any of our ideas. But in this definition it is not made apparent that account must be taken of the two aspects which 'ideas,' according to Locke, possess,—(*a*) their immediate aspect, as the direct objects of our thought, and (*b*) their representative aspect, as the media through which we come to know of what is real or existent. The term 'agreement,' or 'disagreement' is intended, then, to cover these two different ways in which 'ideas' may be regarded in our thinking. On the one hand, we may regard them in their immediate aspect and become aware of the relations of various kinds among ideas as objects. On the other hand, we may regard them as representative, and their agreement or relation will mean the connexion between the idea as a medium of knowledge and the real thing which is represented by it. As a result, it is evident that knowledge, regarded as the sum of truths, may be divided into two kinds,—(*i*) proposition which concern only ideas, 'ideal propositions,' as they may be called, and (*ii*) propositions concerning real existence which is made known to us more or less completely and certainly, 'real propositions.'

(1) In the first case, the agreement or disagreement is discoverable, so far as it can be discovered, in the ideas themselves. No reference to existence other than that of the 'ideas' is required for such knowledge. Certain important consequences follow. In the first place such knowledge is essentially intuitive in character; the relations between the ideas compared are such as are directly apprehended. Within this range is to be included demonstration, the peculiar features of which is the insertion of intermediate ideas by means of which there is apprehended the relation between the two ideas compared. Demonstration depends on intuition, for, however many or few the intermediate ideas may be, the relations involved in each must be intuitively apprehended. In the second place, since the relations apprehended are given in the ideas themselves, there may be here perfect generality of statement. Our assertions may be universal in scope for they concern no particular matter of fact; or if we give to such assertions a kind of reference to existent fact, it is altogether hypothetical in character,—we assert only that existent fact, so far as it conforms to our ideas, will possess the relations apprehended in those ideas.

It is obvious, I take it, that Locke altogether failed to make explicit the fundamental feature in this doctrine of purely ideal knowledge,—the apprehension, namely, of relations. If the ideas be taken in Locke's fashion *as objects*, we might perhaps admit that such a relation as that of identity and difference would be directly apprehended, as consequent upon the natural fact that each idea as it exists in the mind is an individual entity, and is, therefore, itself and different from any other. But whether such perception of difference could give rise, in a mind constituted as he takes it to be, to a proposition in which the relation is predicated is another and much more difficult question. Locke is all the while assuming that the relations supposed to subsist will be at once perceived and made the predicates of propositions, whereas it is very evident that no such

manipulation would be possible except when the mind and its operations be radically different from his conception of them. There is, however, a more important variety of relations among truths,—that, namely, in which one truth or proposition is said to involve or imply another. In this relationship of *implication* we have to do with a connexion that is essentially internal It is a relation of *necessary connexion* between propositions, whereby we know that if *p* is true, then *q* is true. The types of relation that carry with them this relation of implication are extremely numerous ; the relation of implication between two propositions is, in fact, an essential condition of inferring the one from the other. But the difficulty is that an 'idea' is consistently represented by Locke as an *object* of the mind, and as, therefore, in its own nature, an individual fact. "The immediate object of all our reasoning and knowledge is," he says, in dealing with the syllogism "nothing but particulars. Every man's reasoning and knowledge is only about the ideas, existing in his own mind, which are truly, every one of them, particular existences ; and our knowledge and reason about other things is only as they correspond with these our particular ideas. So that the perception of the agreement or disagreement of our particular ideas is the whole and utmost of our knowledge. Universality is but accidental to it, and consists only in this, that the particular ideas about which it is are such as more than one particular thing can correspond with and be represented by. If, then, particular individual objects are all that we are cognisant of, how is to possible to apprehend a universal relation, such as that of implication, a relation which is certainly not contained in one idea and which simply cannot be so much as stated as a relation between *objects* ? It was, indeed, precisely on account of his view of the individuality of ideas *as objects* that Locke rejected general axioms as principles of reasoning,[2]

[1] IV. 17. 8.
[2] IV. 7. 10.

and, on a similar ground, he ought to have denied the legitimacy of implication and inference.

(2) As regards the second type of knowledge, real propositions concerning the relation of ideas to existent fact, the question as to how far the relations apprehended among ideas can be regarded as holding good in things other than ideas is obviously the pressing one. In the first place, it has to be noted that, according to Locke, 'things' not being 'ideas' cannot be directly compared with ideas. In respect to this type of proposition there can be, therefore, neither intuitive nor demonstrative certainty. In fact, it is admitted that to call it 'knowledge' at all is to do violence to the term; we can have here only 'assurance' or what later writers call 'belief.' Such belief may, however, be as satisfactory as knowledge, and it approaches its highest degree of validity in proportion as we can secure that the ideas concerned are perfectly simple, not, that is to say, worked up by the mind. That is the case, for example, with the simple ideas of sense-qualities, above all the primary sense qualities, the essential qualities which bodies must possess in order to produce effects on the mind, which ideas are perfectly simple and may accordingly be taken to resemble perfectly the qualities themselves. In the second place, no knowledge of this kind can possess universality, no general propositions certainly true can (with two notable exceptions) be asserted with respect to matters of fact. Even mechanical science, in which propositions of a very general kind connecting primary qualities with derivative ones are laid down, can claim no more than a high degree of hypothetical truth. A proposition which concerns matters of fact must rest upon particular experiences, and is, therefore, in its own nature incapable of being universal.

According to his view, then, knowledge of external nature is only of the kind called practical certainty, nor is it possible to have demonstration within the sphere of natural science. But, probably influenced by Cartesian doctrine, Locke insists that we

have an intuitive knowledge of the self; and, in a way peculiar to himself, he agrees that we have demonstrative evidence of the real existence of God. One can hardly fail to be struck with the impossibility of reconciling the two last contentions with the general ground of the distinction between the two kinds of knowledge.

According to that distinction, intuition or direct apprehension, resulting in self-evident propositions, was restricted to the case in which idea was compared with idea. Indeed, it would be difficult under any definition of intuitive knowledge, and it was specially difficult for Locke with his restriction of knowledge to ideas, to assign any place to intuition when the comparison made is not between two contents apprehended together. But, now, for Locke, the only contents, the only objects of our thought are ideas; a concrete existing thing may be represented by an idea but is never itself an idea; that, indeed, was the very ground on which the propriety of describing sense-perception as knowledge had been called in question. In what way, then, is it to be supposed that this difficulty is capable of being surmounted in the case of the self? How is it that here there *does* seem to be possible what is required for intuition, a direct comparison of the *idea* of the self with the *actually existing* self? I think it must be answered that, on Locke's premises, no such comparison is possible; and further that he never attempted to explain what he meant by the term 'idea of self.' One might fairly have asked him whether, in truth, there is any such 'idea.'

As regards the existence of God, Locke's contention brings forward another special difficulty in his general analysis of knowledge. It has been a familiar doctrine of logic that there can be no demonstration of a matter of fact, and that doctrine is, of course, in exact accordance with Locke's view. How, then, does Locke, in the particular case before us, contrive to add to the universal relations of ideas the implication of existence? He does so by ascribing a quite peculiar meaning

to the general relation of cause and effect. There is, he agrees, finite existence, as, for example, our own. Being finite, it must be regarded as an effect, and an effect requires a cause, which cause must be an existent. Now, here Locke is putting together two quite different conceptions. The one is the analytical connexion between the notions, cause and effect ; since these notions are correlative, we cannot form the one without the other. The other is the relation between matters of fact which we may call that of necessary connexion. But these two conceptions are *not* identical ; and on Locke's general principle there is no doubt at all that, with regard to the second, his consistent conclusion would have been that, in respect to matters of fact, we are never able to perceive necessary connexion. Clearly, then, the supposed demonstration of the existence of God is incompatible with his view of matters of fact, and it rests upon a quite unjustifiable identification of the merely ideal relation, the relation of the *notions*, cause and effect, with a *real* necessary connexion between concrete existents.

And this brings us back to the perplexity we were discussing under the previous heading. What exactly is meant by a relation among ideas? Locke is all the while giving to ideas a kind of substantive existence ; and, therefore, assimilating their relations to the relations of substantive things to one another. In this way, the difficulty regarding external perception is intensified, because the ' idea ' of an external object comes to be regarded as an intermediary, a *tertium quid*, between the perceiving mind and the thing itself.

M. R. ANNAND

FEDERALISM

Federalism constitutes a happy compromise between the separatist and the unifying forces in a country. When some states come to unite permanently with one another for gaining some common purpose and serving a higher end, two conflicting ideals naturally inspire their inhabitants. They still retain some loyalty to their own state and at the same time feel interested in the progress of the new union. They remain imbued still with a spirit of provincialism but they have to yield to some extent to a wider national sentiment as well. Now they think only in terms of their own territorial community and serve the separate interests of their province ; again, however, they think in terms of the larger nation and serve the interests of this greater society. These two tendencies seem to be conflicting and antagonistic ; they are apparently irreconcilable. The aim of federalism, however, is to bring about a harmony between them. "A federal state," remarks the late Professor Dicey, " is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights."[1] Thus federalism opens out to the people an opportunity of being the citizens of a larger commonwealth without destroying the identity and the special characteristics of their separate territories. They retain to a great extent their old local and provincial attachment and side by side with it develop a wider patriotism. Federalism hence is a convenient half-way house between the centrifugal and the centripetal tendencies in a country.

From the above it is clear that a federal union among some independent political bodies is possible only when a very peculiar sentiment moves the inhabitants of these states.

[1] Law of the Constitution (8th ed.), p. 139.

"They must desire union, and must not desire unity." [1] For some purposes they must be ready to cast in their lot with their neighbours, but in other fields of public activity they must prefer a separate and isolated life. The inhabitants of the different tracts must have a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy. They must have enough of that fellow feeling and neighbourly attachment to enable them to work permanently together for the achievement of common ends. But at the same time these portions of mankind must not be fitted or disposed to live for all administrative purposes under the same internal Government.[2]

In all the modern states that have accepted the federal mechanism, we notice these contradictory sentiments imbuing their peoples. They have all been tenacious of their respective provincial rights, but have come to compromise with their neighbours and entered a union only for better and safer discharge of the common functions of Government. In all these countries, a national and a local feeling exist side by side, state patrotism is not found incompatible with the wider nationalism. Without the existence of this intense local feeling by the side of a national outlook, federalism will lose all its force and vitality. It will even lose all its utility. In the absence of a provincial patriotism, the question of maintaining the separate identity of the component states does not arrise at all. They may be merged completely in the new union and instead of a federation, a centralised and unitary state may be brought into being.

But notwithstanding these contradictory sentiments of the people, the territories, once united together by the bond of federalism, come to constitute not merely a league of sovereign communities; they form a distinct state by itself with all its fundamental elements and attributes. The component states

[1] *Ibid*, p. 137.

[2] Mill, Representative Government, Chap. XVII.

no longer retain their sovereignty. In the processes of the formation of the union, it is shifted to the people of all the states together. It is these people who now acting together in a specified manner exercise the supreme authority in the country. In the United States of America, the states were all sovereign bodies before their Union in 1789. But after the formation of the federation the supreme authority came to be vested in the people of the Union who now acting according to a complicated plan may change the constitution and as such may also modify the status of a component state even against its clearly expressed will.[1] The Article V of the constitution which provides for its amendments seems no doubt to grant an irrevocable privilege to the states. It declares that "no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." For a moment it would seem that so far as this right is concerned, the states are beyond the reach of the people of the Union. But this privilege also is more illusory than real. The people of the Union, if they like, may by constitutional amendment change the nature of this Article and then proceed to modify the representation of states in the Senate.[2] Thus no individual state can decide as to its fundamental powers and functions. It can take up only those duties which are left to it by the people of the Union. If the people decide to deprive a state of some particular function it prizes, no amount of protest on its part will avail. The function will go out of its hands at any rate. Then again the states cannot set up any kind of constitution they like. The people of the Union have given the ukase that only republican government can be instituted in the states.[3] A state may violate this law only to its own discomfiture. Thus cribbed

[1] The constitution can be amended on a motion accepted by two-thirds of both the houses of Congress and three-fourths of the state legislatures, See Art. V of the Constitution.

[2] W. W. Willoghby, Fundamental Concepts of Public Law (1924), p. 251, foot-note.

[3] Art. IV, Sec. 4, of the Constitution.

and cabined the states cannot be said to possess even the shadow of sovereignty.[1]

In Australia, if we overlook the legal fiction of British Parliamentary sovereignty, the states were sovereign before their union in 1900. But with the constitution of the Commonwealth in that year, the supreme authority passed into the hands of the people of the different states together who now acting according to a specified manner may change the constitution.[2] Not only by the Constitution many of the essential powers of the states have already been taken away from their hands, but the people by constitutional amendment may also deprive a state of any of its remaining functions. No doubt the Australian Commonwealth Act includes a provision that without the approval of the majority of the electors of a particular state, no law diminishing its proportionate representation in either House of the Parliament or modifying any way its territorial limits can be valid.[3] But this privilege does not take the Australian States very far. It bears no testimony to their sovereign character. This is of course a difficulty in the way of national sovereignty but it is a difficulty which can easily be overcome. By one amendment of the Constitution this provision may be taken out of the Commonwealth Act and then by means of a second amendment the people of the Union may deal with these questions of representation and territorial limits of the states any way they like. The component parts of the Australian Commonwealth thus occupy the same position in the Union as the states in the American Federation. They are at the mercy of the sovereign people.

[1] *Cf.* "The most conclusive evidence of the ultimate sovereignty of the people of the Union and of the dependent status of the people of any particular state is afforded by this provision that the United States shall guarantee to every state a republican form of government whether the people of every state wish such a government or not."—A. N. Holcombe, State Government in the United States (1926), p. 12.

[2] Section 128 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900.

[3] *Ibid* sec. 128.

Article 3 of the Swiss Federal Constitution points out that "the Cantons are sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal Constitution." According to the orthodox definition of the term, sovereignty cannot, of course, be something limited and divisible. If a community is to be vested with sovereign character, it must have absolute and undivided legal authority over its internal and external affairs. Hence the limited sovereignty which the framers of the Constitution attribute to the Cantons is only a contradiction in terms. As in the U. S. A. and Australia the component parts in Switzerland also are subordinate bodies at the mercy of the people of the Confederation who enjoy the final sovereign authority. Acting according to some definite methods they can change the constitution, and can deprive thereby the Cantons of their existing powers and functions.

Subordinate authorities as the states are, their secession from the Union is out of the question. Along with the formation of the Union their old sovereign character is lost, and their status as organic parts of the federation is practically the creation of the people of the union who now exercise the sovereign authority.[1] Hence the states must live and have their being only in the Union ; outside it they have no legal status. Of course, after the constitution of the American federation in 1789, the question as to the real status of the states remained for long an open one. It was only after the termination of the Civil War that the clouds of controversy were dispelled and the real position of the states exposed. Nor is the situation any way uncertain in Switzerland. In this country, the federal constitution of 1848 was the direct outcome of the civil war of the previous year. The Catholic Cantons dissatisfied with the turn of

[1] *Cf.* The Federal state "is created by the people as a whole and the individual states are creations of its will In the case of a federal state historically founded upon union of previously existing sovereign states, one is to consider the citizens of the federal state as first divesting themselves of their old state sovereignties and then as a people, establishing national federal state," Willoughby, Fundamental Concepts of Public Law, p. 196.

some events in the Protestant provinces formed the Sonderbund and were bent upon seceding from the loose union set up in 1815. The forces of union, however, proved ultimately to be too strong for them and after a strenuous fight on both sides the Catholic Cantons were brought back into the Confederation. The bonds of union which were so long loose and slack were now strengthened and tightened. Coming in the wake of the military successes of the unionist forces, the new Constitution naturally guarded against any movement of secession. If the safety of the Union is endangered by any disturbance in a Canton and if the Cantonal authority fails to bring the matter to the notice of the central administration, the federal authority has now the right to intervene at its own initiative, and bring the disturbing forces to book.[1]

The sovereignty being vested in the people of the union, it is for them now to set up the organs of administration and invest them with proper rights and duties. Both the federal and the state authorities are thus the creation of the people. Directly and expressly through the machinery of a constitution, they establish a central government and determine its scope and jurisdiction; and through the limitations imposed upon the authority of the states by the federal constitution, they also decide as to the powers and functions of the component parts. Both the central and the state governments hence draw their jurisdiction from the people of the union. They are in direct touch with the people and act on them directly without the medium of any other authority. The two governments are "in fact but different agents and trustees of the people constituted with different powers and designed for different purposes."[2] The central and the state authorities thus exist side by side each endowed with its jurisdiction by the people. One is not dependent upon the other, both are supreme in the respective fields assigned to them by the sovereign people. In a federal

[1] Art. 16 of the Constitution.

[2] The Federalist, No. 46.

union thus "there are two governments, covering the same ground and commanding, with equal direct authority, the obedience of the same citizen." [1]

Now both the governments derive indeed their authority from the will of the sovereign people. But this will must not be something nebulous, something fleeting. It must be definite, clear and unambiguous. Both the governments must be sure as to the powers and functions that they are entitled to exercise. They must not be kept in uncertainty as to the province of their jurisdiction. Their rights and duties should, in fact, be embodied in a constitution at once written and rigid. "A written constitution is the only method by which the effective control of the powers allotted to the constituent parts of a federation can be guaranteed to them." [2] This constitution is the source of all authority both to the central and the state governments. Any action on the part of either of them which violates this constitution is, hence, *ultra vires*. The constitution determines and limits the scope of their activities. They are the creatures of the constitution and as such cannot transgress any of its provisions. "The stream cannot rise above its source," as Bryce [3] would say. Now if the constitution is not to be violated by any of its offspring, it must be removed beyond their control. Neither the central nor the state government should have any right to change and amend its provisions. It must not be subject to alterations and revision in the same way as any ordinary statute of either governments. Its amendment must be vested in a different machinery representing the sovereign people. In other words, this constitution must not be flexible, it must be rigid.[4] In the United States, a special sanctity attaches to the Constitution. A written document, it has been elevated to be an institution inspiring respect and

[1] Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I (Revised Ed.), pp. 17-18.
[2] H. J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, p. 306.
[3] The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 243.
[4] Dicey, Law of the Constitution, pp. 142-145.

confidence among the people. It is far removed from the ordinary rough and tumble of politics. It cannot be amended by either the federal congress or any state legislature on its own account. It is beyond their grasp. Article V of the constitution provides for its amendment only according to a complicated procedure. The constitution of the Australian Commonwealth is also a written document. It is embodied in the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900. The provisions of this Act are not alterable by either the federal parliament of Australia or the legislature of any particular state. It is the source of their authority and as such beyond their control. It can be amended only after the assent of the majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth and of the majority of the states is available.[1] The Constitution of the Dominion of Canada is also a written document. It is enshrined in the British North America Act of 1867. As an ordinary statute of the British Parliament, it can of course be altered by it in the same way as any other statute. But it is the source of all power and the fountain of all authority both to the central and the provincial governments in Canada. The two governments enjoy the powers which are granted to them by the constitution. It is, therefore not up to them to change this body of fundamental laws. Thus so far as the Canadian governments are concerned, the constitution is rigid and inflexible. It cannot be amended in the same way as an ordinary federal or provincial statute of Canada. Of course in the matter of the constitutional organisation of a province, the provincial legislature is empowered by the British North America Act[2] itself to amend and modify it except as regards the office of the Lieutenant Governor. Apart from this, none of the two authorities can touch the constitutional system set up by the British North America Act. Switzerland also constitutes a federal union. We should therefore, expect that its constitutional arrangement is determined by

[1] Section 128 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900.

[2] Section 92, 1.

a written rigid body of fundamental laws. The Constitution of the Swiss Confederation is a written document no doubt, but it is questionable if it is rigid as well Broadly speaking, the only difference between the procedure of changing an ordinary law and that of amending the fundamental law consists in the fact that referendum is optional in the former case while it is compulsory in the latter ; and while initiative is admissible in the case of constitutional change, there is no provision for it in the case of making or altering an ordinary statute. There is also a slight difference between the two methods in the fact that while the sanction of the majority of the voters in the Union and also of the majority of the Cantons is necessary for the passing of the constitutional amendment, a simple majority of the people of the Union is enough for making or changing an ordinary statute. Thus the passing of an ordinary law may be as difficult as a change of the Constitution. The two procedures being almost the same, the constitution may be described as flexible. Again both the methods being difficult and both requiring the assent of the people, the constitution may be said to take up the character of rigidity. But it really does not matter if the Swiss system is rigid or flexible ; it is enough that the amendment of the constitution requires the sanction of the sovereign people. Even if it is flexible, it cannot be changed by a body enjoying only delegated powers. The sovereign people alone can modify their will which is enshrined in the constitution.

A written and rigid constitution is thus an indispensable preliminary to any federal arrangement. But even this is not enough. Further precaution comes out to be essential. The federal and state governments working under a written constitution know of course the duties they are entitled to discharge and know also the boundary which they cannot overstep. But no constitution, however precise and definite, can be exact as to the allocation of powers. Some ambiguity, some disputable point is sure to be left. Both the governments may now claim jurisdiction over this disputed area. Again one government may

also deliberately encroach upon the province of another on this plea or that. The question then immediately arises as to which body is to decide between them. The federal system creates a balance of power between two rival governments which can be maintained only by the vigilant watch of " an umpire independent of both." [1] If the supremacy of the constitution is to be preserved and the limitations of both the central and the state governments are to be maintained, there must be independent courts of justice whose clear duty it is " to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the constitution, void." [2] Without this guardianship of the courts of law, the federal system becomes unworkable. " Laws and constitutional provisions possess no momentum of their own," [3] and the federal constitution which is the bed-rock of the federal union, cannot protect itself from the onslaughts of the rival governments without the help of the independent courts of justice. In a federal union, the laws passed by either the central or the state legislature are of the character of bye-laws of a municipal corporation or a railway company.[4] They are valid only when they are in agreement with the powers conferred upon the corporation or the company by an Act of Parliament. If, however, they are in excess of such powers, any individual affected by their application may question their validity before the recognised courts of law which will declare them null and void. Similarly in a federation, a state or a central law should be valid only if it does not go against any provision of the supreme constitution. In case, however, any such law is in excess of powers conferred by the constitution on the government concerned, any individual who is affected by its application, may invoke the ruling of the judicial court which will now have a clear opportunity of declaring it *ultra vires*.

[1] J. S. Mill, Representative Government, Chap. XVII.

[2] The Federalist, No. 78.

[3] W. B Munro, The Government of the United States, p. 64.

[4] This comparison is instituted both by Dicey and Bryce.

This doctrine of judicial supremacy is one of the fundamentals of the American Constitution. "Our Courts," says Dr. Woodrow Wilson "are the balancing wheel of our whole constitutional system."[1] In case one government encroaches upon the jurisdiction of another the federal courts may intervene. They of course do not interfere at their own initiative. "The courts do not render decisions like imperial rescripts declaring laws valid or invalid. They merely render judgment on the rights of litigants in particular cases, and in arriving at the judgment they refuse to give effect to statutes which they find clearly not to be made in pursuance of the constitution and therefore to be no laws at all."[2] Their interpretation of the constitutional provisions is final. Their decision sets at rest any dispute that may arise between the two governments. Judicial supervision over federal and state legislation is one of the features of the Australian Commonwealth as well. This supremacy of the courts is looked upon as essential for maintaining the constitutional equipoise of the federation. The only court, of course, which can entertain a case touching the validity of a central or a state law is the federal supreme court, the High Court of Australia.[3] The state supreme courts are debarred altogether from dealing with any such constitutional issue. If per chance, such a case turns up in a court like this, it must be removed forthwith to the High Court of Australia.[4] Again just as the state courts have been given no jurisdiction over a dispute between the governments, similarly the judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council also has been given very little authority over such cases. This tribunal cannot in fact take up a constitutional case without leave granted to that effect by

1 Constitutional Government in the United States, p. 142.

2 Elihu Root, Experiments in Government and the Essentials of the Constitution, p. 62.

3 A. B. Keith—Responsible Governments in the Dominions (2nd Ed.), Vol. II, pp. 662-63.

4 *Ibid*, p. 664.

the High Court of Australia.[1] The people of this Dominion are sensitive as to foreign interference in their local affairs. They pin their faith more in the Australian courts than in a foreign tribunal. In Canada, however, no such restriction has been put upon the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. The British North America Act of 1867 provided indeed for the establishment of a Canadian Supreme Court which was in fact started a few years later. But the establishment of the Supreme Court did not affect the authority of the Privy Council at London. And to-day this latter tribunal acts as the highest appelate court as much for the constitutional cases as for the other civil cases of Canada. It is thus the ultimate guardian of the constitutional system set up in the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act. It holds the balance even between the central and the provincial governments and quashes any action on the part of either of them which goes against the fundamental law. This great authority which the Australians have practically refused to the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council is exercised by this tribunal in Canada simply for the fact that the French population of Quebec looks upon this distant imperial court as the sure protector of its separatist interests. But the question whether this jurisdiction of an external tribunal over the action of the Canadian legislatures is consistent with the principle of Dominion Home Rule requires to be answered. No less an authority on Dominion affairs than Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith has actually given the verdict that the authority of the Privy Council does not fit in with the present constitutional status of the Dominions. Besides, a court which is not looked upon as any way worthy of

[1] In the original draft bill which the Australian representatives took to England, the British Privy Council was given no power as to the interpretation of the Constitution unless the public interests of some part of Her Majesty's Dominions, other than Australia, were involved. (Section 74.) But as the British Cabinet did not want the Judicial Committee to be absolutely deprived of constitutional powers over Australia, this compromise was effected.

taking up a single appeal case in England should not continue as the final court of appeal for the Dominions.[1]

The problem of maintaining the balance of power between the central and the provincial governments is no less keen in Switzerland. Here also the relation between the two authorities is determined by the Constitution. Hence if any of the governments undertakes a measure not in agreement with this Constitution, the measure must be declared void. If again a dispute arises between one Canton and another or between a Canton and the Confederation, there must be an impartial court of justice to settle it. To this effect there is a Federal Tribunal in Switzerland "constituted by statesmen who knew the weight and authority which belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States."[2] But in the point of actual constitutional jurisdiction, "the Swiss Federal Tribunal is at a great disadvantage as compared with the Supreme Court of the United States."[3] No doubt, in all disputes between the Cantons and the Confederation this Court sits in judgment and its decision is final in the matter. In all constitutional and political conflicts between one Canton and another, it is this Court which is empowered to act as the arbiter. In cases also of Cantonal legislation being in conflict with the federal constitution, this tribunal has complete jurisdiction. If any law of a Cantonal legislature is in excess of its powers as determined by the federal constitution, the Federal Court is invested with the right of declaring it *ultra vires* and maintaining thereby the sanctity of the Constitution.[4] But while this Court is authorised to nullify a Cantonal measure for upholding the true constitutional relation between the central and cantonal authorities ; it cannot decide as to the constitutionality or otherwise of a federal law. Whatever be the character of such a law, the Federal Tribunal cannot sit in judgment

1 Responsible Government in the Dominions (2nd Ed.) Preface, p. ix.
2 Dicey. Law of the Constitution, Appendix, p. 552.
3 A. L. Lowell, Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. II. p. 218.
4 Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. I, p. 401.

upon it. It is bound to apply every law passed by the central legislature.[1] "It has therefore none of the peculiar authority vested in the Supreme Court of holding statutes unconstitutional and none of the exalted dignity which that authority confers."[2] This absence of judicial veto over federal legislation is one of the anomalies of the Swiss constitution. The cantonal and the federal governments both deriving their authority from the constitution, none can go beyond the schedule of duties granted or left to them by that constitution. In case, however, the central legislature crosses the boundary of its own jurisdiction and encroaches upon the province of the cantons, no tribunal can question this undue assumption of power. It seems, therefore, that Federal Assembly may, if it likes, destroy the balance of power set up by the constitution. In point of fact, however, this is not possible in Switzerland. In every case of federal legislation, the sovereign people whose will is embodied in the Constitution may demand referendum. "For ninety days the law may be said to be on probation, for if within that time a sufficiently numerous body of citizens so demand, a popular vote must be ordered, and acceptance or rejection is decided by that."[3] It is not expected that the people whose ideas about the allocacation of powers between the central and cantonal governments are enshrined in the constitution will allow a law to be passed by the Federal Assembly which may be repugnant to this constitution. Of course, in the process of the working of the constitution, questions of jurisdiction may easily crop up which are too nice and too technical for the common people to decide. Only an expert judicial body can unravel such mysteries of law. Hence although in broad cases the people may intervene with success to maintain the balance between the two governments, in finer and more technical cases the federal government gets an undue

[1] Article 113 of the Constitution.

[2] Lowell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 219.

[3] J. M. Vincent, Government in Switzerland, p. 188.

advantage. It would have been logical if the Federal Tribunal was invested with jurisdiction over the legislation of the Federal Assembly. The federal system would have been better guarded and the constitutional relations between the two governments better maintained, if the Federal Tribunal could declare null and void a federal law not consistent with the constitution. The absence of this jurisdiction on the part of the Swiss Supreme Court is only an anachronism and does not speak against the system of judicial supremacy in other true federations.

A federation is not expected to consist of states always of similar size and strength. It may, almost as a matter of course, include within it both large and small members. Now naturally as the federation comes into operation, the smaller states may fear that their interests will go by default and the larger states will have everything in their own way. They may be reasonably afraid of being overshadowed by their stronger co-partners in the Union. This fear will be strengthened all the more if the central legislature is formed by proportional representation from the different members of the federation. The larger and the more populous states in that case will swamp and dominate the legislature. Thus threatened with dictation from the more powerful neighbours, the smaller states will never agree to enter the Union. If however all the states are equally represented in the central legislature, the larger states will stand the risk of being dominated by the smaller ones who may be in the majority. The bigger states with their superior numerical strength and greater financial contribution can never enter the federation on this condition. They cannot be expected to put themselves at the mercy of their inferior neighbours. When none of these two alternatives is a solution of the question, a compromise comes out to be indispensable in the matter of representation in the central legislature. Representation should be determined neither simply on the basis of population, nor only on the basis of the state as a corporate body. A *via media* has to be cut out. The central legislature in a federal union should be a bicameral

body. In the lower house the people of the states are to be represented in proportion to their numerical strength. In the Upper house, however, all the states irrespective of their territorial size and population strength, are to be represented equally. Federal Union is, as is explained already, a compromise between two opposite principles. It reconciles nationalism with state patriotism. Naturally the central legislature of such a union should also represent this attitude of compromise. It cannot be the exponent of merely the nation-idea in the country. Nor can it be merely the mouthpiece of the principle of local independence. It must partake of the nature of both. The one house is to represent the people, the other chamber is to be the organ of the states.[1]

In the federal convention at Philadelphia, that framed the constitution of the United States, there was a good tug of war between the two opposing schools of political ideals as to the representation in the central legislature. The Virginia plan, initiated in the Convention by Mr. Randolph, advocated a bicameral legislature in both the chambers of which the states were to have representation in proportion to their population. As a counterblast to this scheme another plan, sponsored by the smaller states and popularly known as the New Jersey plan, was introduced in the Convention. It demanded a unicameral legislature in the central Government in which all the states would have equal representation. Thus while the first plan would place the smaller states completely in the hands of their stronger and larger neighbours, the second plan would throw the larger states entirely at the mercy of the smaller members. While the first plan would give all the emphasis upon the principle of nationalism, the second scheme would attach all the importance to the idea of state sovereignty. If both parties were to

[1] The Federalist, No. 62.

be logical in their opinions there would be no end to the controversy. It would have, in fact, wrecked all the work of the Convention. But businesslike as the members of this Convention were, they at last accepted the suggestion of a compromise made by one of their colleagues, Dr. Johnson. He pointed out that the two points of view were not altogether irreconcilable. They " instead of being opposed to each other ought to be combined." In one branch of the legislature, "the people ought to be represented ; in the other the states." [1] Mr. Ellsworth who supported this suggestion of compromise was also quite explicit as to its suitability to American conditions. " We are partly national, partly federal," he observed. "The proportional representation in the first branch was conformable to the national principle and would serve the large states against the small. An equality of voices was conformable to the federal principle and was necessary to secure the small states against the large." [2] The American Senate thus enshrines the federal idea. It is the States' House as opposed to the House of the people which the lower chamber is. Its important function, according to the Fathers, is the protection of the interests of the small states against the onslaughts of the large ones. In practice, however, the Senate has lost to-day all its utility as the House of the States. It " is not necessary to protect the small states against the large states." [3] Most interests that engage the attention of politicians and statesmen run across state boundaries. They are not limited to one type of states only. "Agriculture concerns the farmers of New York as much as the farmers of the Middle West, the tariff is important to southern manufacturers as well as to those of New England." [4] Under these circumstances,

1 Hunt and Scott, The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, pp. 182-3.
2 *Ibid*, p. 189.
3 Lindsay Rogers—The American Senate (1926), p. 245.
4 *Ibid*, p. 100.

there is no question to-day that divides the small states from the large. And no opportunity is available to the senators from small states to combine together against the rest. The Senate never divides on state lines.[1] As the house of the states the Senate therefore, is now only an anomaly.

In Australia also, equality of representation of the different states in the upper house of the central legislature was the condition-precedent to the federal union. From the beginning of the federal movement, the principle of 'majority rule' was of course preached and advocated by a group of nationalists. They wanted that a majority of voters on a population basis should determine the policy of the union government through their representatives. But this proportionate representation of the states in the central legislature would have brought the small states at the feet of New South Wales and Victoria whose population together far outnumbered the inhabitants of the rest of the colonies. Naturally this method of representation could not secure any advocacy outside Sydney and Melbourne. Nor could the other extreme principle—that of equal representation of the states in a single legislature—be seriously entertained by the large states. They could not be expected to place themselves at the mercy of the small states which would be in the majority. A compromise was called for. The two extremes must meet half way. Accordingly it was decided to set up a bicameral legislature in the central government. In the House of Representatives, the people of the states are represented according to their numerical strength while in the Senate all the states, whatever be their size and population, have an equal number of members. This arrangement was made not only to meet the conflicting demands of the large and small states in matters of representation, but also to give due emphasis to the antagonistic ideals of nationalism and state particularism. The lower house was to be the stronghold of the nationalist

[1] *Ibid*, p. 99.

forces, while the Senate was to be the bulwark of state automony. The legislature was hence so constituted as to ensure that "every law should receive the assent of a majority of the states as well as of a majority of the people."[1] The Senate thus became the states house. "As the courts are the guardians of the rights of the states in matters that lie outside the federal power, so the Senate is the guardian of the interests of the states in matters which are within the federal power."[2] Whenever, therefore, any measure was on the legislative anvil, which might jeopardise the interests of the states, the Senate was expected to throw itself against it. In point of fact, however, the Senate has not been able to live up to the ideals of its originators. It has not fulfilled the special functions for which it was created. The labour party in Australia which has dominated this chamber for a number of years is committed to a policy of centralisation and nationalisation. It has pinned its faith to undertakings on a national basis. Whenever therefore, it is a question of states *versus* the nation, the Labourites on principle support the latter, and the Senate which was their stronghold, became the chief instrument for carrying out this policy. This body was thus reduced to a very curious position. Created as a house of the states, it was converted "into an instrument for weakening the power of the States."[3] Thus it is safe to conclude that the second chamber has not been of much utility and service, either in the United States of America or in Australia for the maintenance of the federal balance. Its services have not been demanded or given for protecting the small states against the large. Nor has it been of any use in protecting state autonomy from the encroachment of the nation. The development of the nation-wide parties has cut out the ground from underneath its feet as a house of the states.

[1] Sir Samuel Griffith in the Convention of 1891 at Sydney.

[2] W. H. Moore, The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, p. 151.

[3] Lees-Smith, Second Chambers, p. 110.

In the Dominion of Canada also, the second chamber has proved a failure as a house of the provinces. Before the federation was effected in 1867, the two Canadas had equal representation in the lower house of the legislature. This constituted of course an injustice to upper Canada whose population had increased rapidly and which contributed about three-fourths of the revenue of the State. An agitation was on foot to do away with this grave anomaly. But the opposition of Lower Canada stood in the way. The Quebec Resolutions of 1865 at last provided for representation by population in the lower house of the proposed Confederation. But this was on the express condition that in the upper chamber all the naturally differentiated tracts of the country would have equality of votes. Without this equality of representation in one of the chambers, the less numerous provinces could not possibly protect their separate local interests from the aggression of the larger neighbours.[1] This equality of status in the federal upper house is hence one of the corner-stones of the federal structure. Without this concession the project of the union would have fallen through. And to day the four natural divisions of the Dominions—Ontario, Quebec, the Maritime provinces and Prince Edward Island, and the Western Provinces—have twenty-four members each on the Senate.[2] Thus constituted, the Senate is expected to be a bulwark of Provincial interests whenever they come to be threatened from any quarters. In fact, however, this is a duty which the Senate has scarcely attended to. As in every other state, federal or unitary, party lines are not

1 "Our Lower Canada friends have agreed to give us representation by population in the Lower House on the express condition that they shall have equality in the Upper House. On no other condition could we have advanced a step; and, for my part, I am quite willing they should have it. In maintaining the existing sectional boundaries and handing over the control of local matters to local bodies, we recognise, to a certain extent, a diversity of interests, and it was quite natural that the protection for those interests, by equality in the upper chamber, should be demanded by the less numerous provinces." Hon. George Brown in the Debate on the Confederation in the Canadian Parliament, Feb., 1865.

2 Section 1, sub-sec. (1), para. (*jj*) of the British North America Act, 1915.

vertical but horizontal in the Dominion of Canada as well. They cut across provincial boundaries. The members of the Senate are not appointed, really speaking, to represent this province or that. They are appointed only to give support to this national party or that. Questions accordingly are treated in the Senate only on party lines and not as issues between the provinces and the central Government.

In Switzerland, we have seen, the Federal Tribunal has not been invested with any right of veto over federal legislation. The judiciary thus cannot protect the interests of the cantons when invaded by the central legislature. But as in other true federal unions, the legislature is a bi-cameral body in Switzerland. In the Lower House all the Cantons are represented according to population. But in the second chamber they have equality of status and representation. Each of these Cantons of whatever size and strength is represented by two members on the Council of States. [46] Thus although the cantons did forego the judicial control of federal legislation as a safeguard of local interests, they made their equal representation on the Council of States an indispensable condition of their union. This was a safeguard on which they put much emphasis. And " the Council of States was designed in a peculiar sense to represent the Cantons." [2] Unlike in the United States or Australia, the Swiss Cantons determine each in its own way, the qualification, tenure of office and the manner of election, of their representatives in the federal second chamber. [3] The Council of States is thus the citadel of cantonal particularism as a counterpoise to the National Council which is a house of the people.

From the above survey it is apparent that the second chamber as a house of the states serves practically no useful purpose in some of the important federal unions. Still the fact remains that without the institution of such an Upper House no

[1] Art. 80 of the Constitution.

[2] Robert C. Brooks. Government and Politics of Switzerland, p. 81.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 82.

federation would have taken place at all. *True indeed that forces* of centralisation are universally on the ascendant, *true also that* the rapid growth of parties with national issues has relegated the question of states rights to the back ground. But all the same, no component part of a federal union would entertain to-day with patience any proposal for destroying the equality basis of the second chamber in the central legislature. Experience has diminished the fear of the small states and history has proved that the second chamber need not necessarily protect the interests of the states. All this notwithstanding, confidence in the possibilities of such a house as the protector of small communities and the guardian of local rights remains unshaken. And it is very doubtful if autonomous contiguous states anywhere would care to form a federation even under serious external pressure without the safeguard of a second legislative chamber on which they are equally represented.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

(To be continued)

HIBISCUS.

How like the red hibiscus is her mouth,
Glowing and warm and beautiful;
Yet have I known those luring rosy lips
To utter words more cruel far
Than flaming sun at noon-tide, and have learned
That lovely lips, like poison blooms,
Can be as dangerous to one
Who ignorantly gathers them!

LILY STRICKLAND

KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-KNOWLEDGE [1]

An exile—it is a matter of pride and satisfaction to me that you should occasionally think of me and summon me to your midst. Says the honey-mouthed Saib :

دور دستان را بهمت یاد کردن مشکل است
ورنه هر نخلی بیابی خود ثمر می افگند

When your invitation reached me I was at a loss to fix upon a subject which would at once be topical and instructive and at the same time neither controversial nor provocative of strong differences of opinion. In prudence I had to steer clear of two perilous rocks, Religion and Politics, for both evoke heat and passion and make for trouble.

Fellow-students, the subject on which I propose to address you to-day is 'knowledge' and the "self-knowledge" resulting therefrom. The subject is not a new one. In fact it is as old as the hills, but it is none the less a subject which always retains its charm and freshness. And if any proof was needed, the proof is strikingly furnished by a poet of classic renown :

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد * که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد
نه بینی ز آن همه یک خشت بر پای * مدیح عنصری ماند است بر جای

In this age of many competing interests knowledge, for its own sake, unfortunately, is little sought for. The struggle for existence has become fiercer; new avenues have been thrown open; new ambitions, new aspirations have come to the forefront, and

[1] Presidential Address delivered by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh at the Bihar Students' Conference held at Patna on the 21st of September 1930.

that which is most subversive of all for *the pursuit of knowledge* —that peaceful leisure so conducive to serious thinking and uninterrupted research, is now almost entirely gone. In the vortex of the modern, hurrying, hastening life where we invest little but expect much ; where fame is indistinguishable from notoriety ; where talent and wit are not marketable commodities; where the recompenses of life are accorded by preference to intrigue, to vulgarity, to the charlatans who cultivate the art of puffing, and to the smart people who just keep without the clutches of the law—it is but inevitable that 'knowledge,' and especially 'knowledge for its own sake,' should be at a discount.

All that I ask for is that such a state of affairs should be mended, for to ignore 'knowledge' is to sap the very foundation of public and private life and to set a premium on fraud and imposture.

Cicero, in enumerating the various heads of mental excellence, lays down the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake as the first of them. And Mutahhar in 355/966 A.D. wrote thus :—

"Learning only unveils herself to him who wholeheartedly gives himself up to her : who approaches her with an unclouded mind and clear insight; who seeks God's help and focuses an undivided attention upon her; who girds up his robe and who, albeit weary, out of sheer ardour, passes sleepless nights in pursuit of his goal, rising, by steady ascent, to its topmost height, and not to him who seeks learning by aimless flights and thoughtless efforts, or who, like a blind camel, gropes about in the dark. He should not yield to bad habits or permit himself to be led astray by vicious tendencies. Nor must he turn his eyes from truth's depth. He should discriminate between the doubtful and certain, between genuine and spurious and *should always stand firm by the clear light of reason.*"

Mutahhar's is not an isolated note. The passion for knowledge in the East, notably in the Islamic world, was deep-rooted

and wide-spread. The popular zeal was seconded and re-enforced by the munificence and benefactions of those that could materially advance and liberally forward its course. Princes, magnates, war-lords, merchants—all, without exception, assisted in rearing that magnificent temple of learning, the crowning glory of Muslim civilization. At the end of the 4th/10th century every one of the three great rulers of Islam—of Cordova, of Cairo, and of Baghdad—was a lover of books. Al-Hakam of Spain had his agents all over the East to collect first copies of books that were written. The catalogue of his library consisted of 44 Fasculi, each of 20 folios, containing merely the titles of books. At Cairo before the Caliph Abdul Aziz (d. 386/996) mention was made of the *Kitab al-Ain* of Khalil ibn Ahmad. He sent for it and the librarian immediately brought over 30 MSS., among them an autograph copy of the author. A dealer offered the Caliph a MS. of the '*History of T'abari*' for which he had paid 100 dinars. The Caliph had in his library more than 20 MSS. of this work, including an autograph copy of the author. Of the *Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid he had 100 MSS. Later writers even presume to know the actual number of books there. In the printed edition of Maqrizi the number is estimated at between 160 and 120,000 volumes. According to Ibn al Tuwair : The library had departments, divided into sections, each section with a door on hinges and with locks. It contained more than 200,000 volumes. Poor is the comparison which the western libraries of this period offer. In the 9th century the Cathedral library of Constance possessed 356 volumes; the Benedictbeuren library, in 1030, just over 100 volumes, and the Cathedral library of Bamberg, in 1130, only 96 volumes. Mukaddasi was shown over the library of Adud-ud-Dawlah by the Chief Bed-maker (Rais-al-farrashin) : The library formed a building by itself. It was in charge of a superintendent (wakil), a librarian (khazin) and an inspector (mushrif). Adud-ud-Dawlah had collected there every book composed up to his time in every branch of learning. The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long

arched hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had inserted cupboards of veneered wood two yards long by three broad, with doors which were let down from above. The books were all piled upon shelves. Every branch of learning had its own cupboards, and catalogues, in which the names of the books were registered. Only distinguished people were allowed admission into the library. The three passionate lovers of learning of the 3rd/9th century were Jahiz, Fath ibn Khaqan, a magnate of the Court, and Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq. Never did a book come to Jahiz's hand but he read it from cover to cover, be it what it might. Finally he hired the shops of the book-dealers to read the books there on loan. A later authority even invents for him a bibliophile's death. He used to heap up books high around him and one day the heap fell upon him and killed him.

Whenever he left the Caliph's table for some business or other Ibn Khaqan pulled a book out from his sleeve or his shoe and read it until his return. "I always found Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq either reading a book or shifting books," says Ibn Nadim.

Sijistani (d. 275-888) had a wide and a narrow sleeve made: the first was intended for books, but the other served no special purpose.

About the middle of the 3rd/9th century the courtier Ali ibn Yahya Munajjim established on his estate a beautiful library which he named the 'Treasure-house of wisdom' (Khizanat al-hikmah). From all parts of the world people flocked there and were entertained at the proprietor's cost. There also came with the pilgrim caravan the astronomer Abu Ma'shar from Khorasan. He visited the library and was so captivated by it that "he forgot both Islam and the pilgrimage."

An Isphahanian theologian and landowner (d. 272/885) is said to have spent 300,000 dirhams on books. Even a Court Marshal at Baghdad who died in 312/924 left behind books worth more than 2,000 dinars. In 357/967 among other things, 17,000 bound volumes were confiscated belonging to a

rebellious son of the Amir of Baghdad. In 355/965 the house of the Wazir Abul Fadl ibn Amid was so thoroughly plundered by 'itinerant religious warriors' that nothing was left behind to sit upon or to drink water from. The historian Ibn-Miskawaihi, who was then his librarian, thus proceeds: The Alid Ibn Hamzah sent carpets and utensils to him, but his heart was troubled about his books, for nothing was dearer to him than they. And he had plenty of them, dealing with all sciences and every branch of philosophy and literature—more than a hundred camel-loads. When he saw me, he asked me about them and I informed him that they were as safe as before and that no one had touched them. He was delighted and said: You are a child of fortune. Everything else can be replaced but these can never be. I noticed how his face lighted up. He added: Bring them to me to-morrow at such and such a place. I did as I was told, and of all his possessions they alone were saved.

Sahib ibn Abbad (d. 384/994) refused the invitation of the Samanid Prince to become his Wazir on the ground, among others, of the difficulty of removal,—having 400 camel-loads of theological works alone. The catalogue of his library filled 10 volumes. Under Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who proved himself a Maecenas neither to Firdausi nor to Beruni, the books were consigned to the flames.

The Qadi Abdul Mutrif of Cordova (d. 420-1/1011) was a great collector of books. He always had six copyists to work for him. Whenever he heard of a beautiful book he sought to secure it, making extravagant offers for it. He never lent a book, but would willingly get it copied and make a gift of it without hesitation. After his death his books were sold for a whole year in his mosque, fetching 400,000 dinars for the collection. The Baghdadian savant Al-Baiqani (d. 425/1033) required 63 baskets and two trunks for the transport of his books on removal.

The Manichaeans had already shown delicate taste and fancy in the get-up of their books. In 311/923, at the public

gate of the castle at Baghdad, the portrait of Mani, together with 14 sacks of heretical books, was burnt. Gold and silver fell out of them. The supporters of the schismatic al-Hallaj (executed in 310/921) also imitated the Manichaeans in this respect. Their books were written in gold on Chinese paper, were encased in silk and brocade, and were bound in costly leather.

The state-papers in the Byzantine Chancery are always mentioned as works of art. In 326/937 a letter of the Byzantine Emperor came to the Caliph, the Greek text in letters of gold and Arabic translation in letters of silver. Somewhat later another letter was sent to the Caliph of Cordova in letters of gold on sky-blue leather. It was encased in a cylinder of chased silver with the portrait of the emperor in coloured glass on the cover. That entire work of art was enveloped in brocade. The poems of the Caliph Mutamid were likewise inscribed in letters of gold. The Wazir Ibn Abbad (d. 386/996) personally drafted the letter of appointment of his Chief Qadi, Abdul Jabbar, and himself copied it in a most extravagant fashion. It consisted of 700 lines, each line on a folio and the entire work fitted into an ivory case, which looked not "unlike a thick column." In the 5th/11th century this work, along with another bibliographical rarity, was presented to the Wazir Nizam el-Mulk. The latter was a Quran, the variants of which were in red, between the lines, the explanation of uncommon expressions in blue, and passages of practical import in gold.

The book-lovers' greatest joy consisted in MSS. by famous scribes.

But along with libraries another form of literary endowment came into existence. It combined the collection of books with instruction or at least with remuneration for work done in the libraries. The poet and savant Ibn Hamdan (d. 323/935)—a distinguished nobleman of Mosul—founded in his native town a 'House of Learning' (Dar-al-'ilm) with a library

possessing books on every branch of learning. It was open to all who wished to make use of it. For the poor paper was provided free. For himself, the founder set apart a place where he declaimed his verses or those of others and dictated historical and juristic notes. The Qadi Ibn Hibban (d. 354/965) bequeathed to the town of Nisabur a house with " library and quarters for foreign students and provided stipends for their maintenance." The books were not to be lent out. A courtier of Adud-ud-Dawlah (d. 372/982) built at Ram-Hormuz on the Persian Gulf—as at Basrah—a library where those who read or copied received a grant. At Ram-Hormuz a Mutazilite theologian always lectured on Mutazilite principles. In 383 the Buwayyid wazir Sabur ibn Ardashir (d. 415/1024) founded a ' House of Learning' (Dar al-'ilm) on the west side of Baghdad. Besides 10,400 volumes, mostly authors' autographs, and copies belonging to celebrated scholars, it possessed 100 copies of the Quran written by the Banu Mukhal. The management was in the hands of two Alids and a Qadi.

Further Ar-Radi, poet and registrar of the Alids (d. 406/1015), established one such ' House of Learning ' for students (Talabat ul-ilm), making necessary arrangements for their needs (Diwan, Beyrut, 1,3). The name signifies the change. The old institutions, which were libraries, pure and simple, were called the ' Treasure-house of Wisdom' (Khizanat al-Hikmah), the newer ones ' the House of Learning' (Dar-al-'ilm) in which the library was merely a special section. Even in Egypt such academies were founded. In 378/988 Aziz purchased a house by the side of Al-Azhar and endowed it for 35 theologians, who held their sittings for learned discussions every Friday in the mosque between the midday and the after-midday prayer. Thus, the Islamic academy, which is still the greatest academy in Islam, dates from the 4th/10th century. The wazir Ibn Killis established a private academy. He is reported to have spent 1,000 dinars every month for

professors, copyists and book-binders. In 935 the Caliph al-Hakim founded a 'Dar-al-'ilm' at Cairo in which he gathered together books out of the different libraries in the citadel.

Teaching was regarded as a sacred duty. A whole band of savants, *e.g.*, the entire Hanafite school, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Sufyan Thauri and others, declare it unlawful for teachers to take money for instruction in Quran and tradition.

Others considered it lawful but placed those traditionists higher who "only taught for the sake of heavenly reward." Even Nawawi in the 8th/13th century refused to accept the salary assigned for his post at Ashrafiyyah.

Such then was the love of knowledge, such the spirit of benefaction, such the sacrificing zeal of the teachers! I wish to emphasise that the remarks that I have made are not meant only for the Islamic world but are truly applicable to the entire Orient. The spirit is the true Eastern spirit, shining resplendent throughout the East. It is therefore all the more regrettable that that noble, disinterested spirit—eminently our very own—should be lost in the wave of modernism, submerging the noble, the sublime, the ideal in life. Nothing can or will stir our languid pulses except our own Eastern history, Eastern tradition, the examples of our forbears, the lessons from our past. Their heroism will stimulate and inspire us; their errors will caution and correct us; their wisdom will bless and guide us; out of their examples and precepts there will arise that unity which, shedding love and light, will link the scattered brothers and sisters into one enduring, unbreakable chain—a unity standing above *that* religion which divides and *that* expediency which ignores the future.

And nothing but the advance of knowledge can achieve this unity, dispelling at once the mist of misunderstanding and bringing home to us our limitations and possibilities. Like the individual the State too must know its limitations and possibilities if it is to continue sound and remain stable. Without such

self-knowledge neither the one nor the other can thrive, *even for long* endure. The three notable instances of failure in history due to a sheer want of national self-knowledge, as Dr. Adolphus William Ward points out, are the instances of Greece, Rome, and the Holy Roman Empire. The weakest point in the political system of Athens was her treatment of her allies. The only alternative to incorporation was the alternative of a genuine federation. Federation did come, but it was a mere cloak for the hegemony of Athens. It was not a reality but a mere make-believe, and the equality of the allies therefore a baseless, transparent fiction. The result was, as is well-known, Cleon and his successors, gifted with political insight realized the falsity and hollowness of the situation and rent the mask under which Pericles had striven to enshroud the inroads of Athens upon the rights of her allies. Her subsequent history need not be retold. From the moment Athens forgot herself and her mission, sure and steady was her downward course. She overstepped her limits and in the consciousness of her pride, sapped the very foundation of her strength. "And thus, slowly but surely, the day arrived when the neglect of the lessons her history had in vain placed before her eyes avenged itself upon her; when her ships were burnt in her own harbours and her walls laid level with the ground, to the mocking music of the Lacedaemonian flutes."

Pass on to the history of Rome and there too the very same lesson is borne in upon us. The tendency of the Roman nobility was that of most aristocracies, namely, the maintenance and increase of the class-influence. And so powerful was its hold, so complete its sway, that neither the voice of reason nor that of expedience was heard or heeded. Warnings notwithstanding they went their way. The proposals of the Gracchi were naught else but to readjust the balance of landed property. The nobility resisted and their resistance was nothing more nor less than an attempt to dam the stream of the national development in its course. The defeat of the Gracchi was the birth of

a popular movement which ruthlessly swept the nobility and their vested interests away. It ushered in the absolutism of Caesar—a punishment which Rome had brought upon her own head. In both these instances—the one of Democracy and the other of Aristocracy –we have an impressive lesson and a salutary warning : namely, that the disregard of national self-knowledge can lead to but one certain, inevitable result, failure and defeat.

And once again, it was a pure miscalculation of strength and actualities which made Charlemagne oblivious of the signs of the times, and led him on to that most impossible of dreams, of uniting the heterogeneous mixture of races under one central power. And this romantic dream dreamed by that powerful monarch was renewed by a long list of monarchs from the days of Otto the Great, with results ominous and catastrophic.

Students of history work in order to qualify themselves to become intelligent readers of the present as well as of the past. And more so still to acquire that self-knowledge which is the most valuable of all assets for distinction in public and private life. And this self-knowledge can only be acquired by a study, deep and extended, of your own and other peoples' history; by the cultivation of those habits of observation which take in the full measure of the present and a comprehensive view of the future; by discounting unbridled imagination and wild, chaotic dreams; by planting our feet on the solid earth and realizing, once and for all, that true progress is always slow, steady, orderly, non-violent, and is conditioned by self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control.

Goethe speaking of his own days says : "I cannot help thinking that the greatest evil of our times, impatient of slow growth as they are, is that one moment is swallowed up in the next, and that people thus live from hand to mouth and take no time to dwell upon anything whatever. Why, we can get a newspaper at every hour of the day. And hence every single thing any one does, attempts, writes—nay, every single thing he hopes

to do—is dragged into the light of publicity. No one may be glad or sorry, but all the rest batten on it; and so the vortex spreads from house to house, from city to city, from realm to realm, and in the end from continent to continent, with incredible velocity." And if such was the case in Goethe's time, much worse is it now. Oh that we would take his warning and his teaching to heart,—namely, to reach to the sources of imagination and intellect, sounder views, more placid outlook. But if history opens up vast vistas before us, literature holds up the mirror of life and science, the triumph of human achievements. They all serve but one common interest—the ascent of man. Fellow-students, what we must always guard against is the expression of opinions formed without study and vented without reflection, for is it not the accumulation of such opinions which ultimately determines all that is dearest to man—honour, prosperity, progress? It has been said in season and out that students should avoid politics; that the proper sphere of their activity is the ivory tower of their University. I have never understood the meaning and purpose of the exponents of this view. If by politics is meant license, disorderliness, a spirit of desperation and nihilism I am entirely at one with them, and I will, as earnestly as they, bid you do without so tremendous an explosive, destructive of peace and ordered progress.

But if by politics is meant what I understand it to mean, an intelligent, reasoned, loving interest in your own affairs and the affairs of those to whom in the days to come you must hand over the torch of patriotism, then, to my mind, politics is not only a leisurely interest which you may or may not cultivate but a duty which you must and shall fulfil. But for such a duty you must have the necessary equipment ; you must pass through the required period of apprenticeship. Pause before you plunge; reflect before you utter; receive guidance before you seek to guide others and, above all, always, always give credit for honesty to those who differ from your views or diverge from your path. The words of the late Master of Peterhouse

always ring in my ears: "The business of life, in which, according to Bacon, men are doomed to hold converse 'generally with the foolish,' will never supply the defect of that historical study without which the most patriotic politicians must be content to be classed among *dilettanti*."

The pursuit of knowledge has a yet higher aim. Beyond the temporal advantages it secures and sustains, it ensures the continuity of human effort in its attainment of the highest ideal. In this field all humanity is one—fellow-workers, fellow-tillers cemented by the self-same ambition, fired by the self-same zeal.

سالهـــا دل طلب جام جم از ما میکرد
آنچه خود داشت ز بیگانه تمنـــا میکرد

You must seek and find the light within you; single-handed you must work out your destiny; neither the prospect of reward, nor the fear of punishment should move or deter you; you should follow Light and do the Right—wheresoever they may lead you—for Light, the inner Light of conscience, never fails, and Right, the eternal symbol of divinity, stands, ever and anon, four square to the winds that blow. Does not Ibn Yamin say:—

خلـــق خدا کـــه خدمت دادار میکنند
هستند بر سه قسم کـــه این کار میکنند
قسمـــی شدند از پی جنت خدا پرست
وین رســـم و عادتیست که تجـــار میکنند
قومـــی دگـــر کنند پرستـش ز بیـــم ار
وین کار بنـــدگانست کـــه احرار میکنند
جمعی نظـــر ازین در جهت قطع کرده اند
بـــر کار هـــر در طائفه افـــکار میکنند
چون غیـــر خویش مرکـــز هستی نیـــافته
بر گـــرد خویش دور چو پـــر کار میکنند
این است راه حق که سیـــم فرقه میـــروند
سیـــر و سلـــوک راه بهنجـــار میکنند

Far above the agitation and strife of man's petty passions, far above the individual cares and interests that seem for the moment so important, never hasting, never resting, onward through the ages, the life of thought and knowledge advances to its goal. What its course has been in the past is only an augury of the yet more splendid future that awaits it. Science, advancing to richer discoveries, and more comprehensive grasp of the order and system of nature; philosophy, shedding new and fuller light on the deeper problems of thought; art, enriching the world with new and fairer creation; and the many-sided intelligence of man, freed from the idols and prejudices that still encumber it, unfolding new capabilities of insight, and a new consciousness of power and freedom—if something like this is the intellectual destiny that lies before us, is there not in the contemplation of it that which may inspire us with a high and ennobling sense of our duty and work? To work in order to gain the knowledge that will qualify you to earn your bread is no dishonourable motive. To study for honours, to be inspired by the love of fame and reputation, if it be the reputation of acquirements that are in themselves good and noble, is no unworthy aim. But there is an intellectual virtue that is higher and purer than these, without some touch of which you can be no true student. For, as the highest patriotism is that of the man who thinks not of honour or rewards, but so loves his country that he is content to be forgotten, to lose himself altogether in the larger, dearer life for which he lives, so he only rises to the true nobility of the student's calling who catches some sympathetic spark of that pure intellectual love, that love of knowledge for its own sake, which lifts him out of self into fellowship with those in all the ages whose life has been, and will be, the eternal life of thought.

حافظ وظیفهٔ تو دعا گفتن است و بس
در بند آن مباش که نشنید یا شنید

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Bombay.

It may not be forgotten that at the very moment when the plan for the introduction of the salt tax in the Bombay Presidency was all but complete, the whole thing split up on the rock of the India Government's strong objection to abolish the transit duties. Again, to introduce the one without the abolition of the other was not possible since it would be flying in the face of the express instruction of the Court of Directors.

As days went on, it became more and more manifest that the continuance of the transit duties was altogether unjustified. Forced by the irresistible logic of circumstances, the Supreme Government had ultimately to acquiesce in their abolition. So in 1837, full many a year after the question had been first raised, was passed the first of the Acts to obtain, on the principle of excise, a special revenue from salt in the Bombay Presidency. Manufacture of salt was to be carried on under a system of licence. The duty, fixed at eight annas per maund, was to be collected at the pans at the time of the removal of salt from there. Salt, once excised, was not liable to pay any further duty within the Presidency.

By a subsequent measure, enacted within two months of the first, all transit duties but not town duties were repealed and provision was made for the imposition of a customs duty equal to that of excise on the strict free trade principle.

The discontinuance of the transit duties was certainly welcome from the economic point of view, though it had come somewhat too late. But the financial readjustment was without doubt socially unjust. For the entire burden of the transit duties,[1]

[1] For a schedule exhibiting the rates of inland transit duties and frontier duties in all places under the Presidency of Bombay in the year 1828-29, see Appendix to Repor ton the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32, p. 758.

distributed over a wide range of articles, necessaries, comforts and luxuries, was all thrown upon one single commodity, a prime necessity of life.

The Bombay Government felt from the beginning that a duty of 8 annas per maund was too high for the country. Shortly before the Act was passed, it had therefore made a strenuous effort to have a lower rate of 6 annas per maund. But all was in vain. When however the measure was put into the statute book in spite of its opposition, it appointed a Committee to examine and report if it were not necessary to give some relief to the consumers in the vicinity of salt pans. The Committee reported against any exemption or concession except in the case of salt-fish-curers, who were granted remission of import and export duty on their article of trade.

The introduction of salt excise in commutation of the transit duties resulted, contrary to the expectation of the India Government, in a financial deficiency of Rs. 2,51,607.[1] Notwithstanding the deficit, the Government decided in 1843 to root out all town duties and various other taxes on trades and professions, which were full of inequalities, anomalies and abuses. But, for the loss of a net revenue of Rs. 9,10,119, which would consequently arise, the Government again sought the recompense in an augmented salt tax and thus aggravated the injustice it had on the similar occasion of repeal of transit duties inflicted on the poor. It was at first contemplated to raise the duty to 12 annas but a factitious circumstance determined it otherwise. It was just the time when the transit and town duties in the Madras Presidency were abolished and the Madras monopoly price of salt

[1]

	Rs.
Total loss incurred including compensations ...	16,60,879
Net revenue annually obtained on an average of six years from 1838-39 to 1843-44	14,09,272
Total deficit ...	251,607

The above calculation does not include the financial result of the revised sea customs, which should however be taken into account, to gauge the net effect of the change on the revenue.

was consequently raised from 15 annas to Re. 1-8 as. per maund. In order to equalise prices and prevent the salt of one province from underselling that of another, the Bombay duty was raised to Re. 1 per maund [1] even before the repeal of the town duties had become an accomplished fact.

The retribution for this precipitance of action came quickly at its heel. With the town duties yet unrepealed, the new measure was naturally looked upon as an insidious attempt on the part of the Government to add to the burden on the poor man's shoulders rather than as a part of a mere contemplated financial readjustment. To a large number of people salt had already become a dear article of food and a further rise in its price portended utmost hardship to them. So it was that no sooner had the news filtered down among the masses than disturbances broke out. The people "became so dissatisfied that in the city of Surat they marked their sense of oppression by closing their shops, which put an entire stop to business and for some days the inhabitants were in tumult." [2]

The price in Madras, it will be remembered, was immediately brought down by the intervention of the Court of Directors. Having removed the chief cause of the enhancement of the Bombay duty, the same authorities, reasonably enough, enjoined on the Government of that Presidency not to exceed the maximum of 12 annas per maund in case they found an increase of the duty unavoidably necessary.

Whether it was agreeably to the above injunction or that the hands of the Government were forced by the disorderly outbreaks, the newly fixed duty, even before it had taken effect, was promptly reduced, by an executive order, to 12 annas per maund. And soon after the law was passed abolishing town duties and such other taxes of an obnoxious kind. But the import duty, fixed at Re. 1 along with excise on the principle of

[1] Act XVI of 1844.

[2] Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Company's Affairs, 1852-53. Evidence of Jevanjee Pestonjee, No. 3906.

equality of treatment, escaped the immediate attention of the Government and remained for some time higher till it was brought to a level with the excise in 1852.

The enhancement of the tax from 8 annas to half as much was followed by a progressive decline in the deliveries of salt from the year 1844. The Court of Directors became much concerned and directed, by their letter of 18th November, 1846, a searching enquiry to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the "true cause of so remarkable a circumstance," "whether it was attributable to the local and temporary causes, whether it was in any degree assignable to a fluctuation in the demand for exportation to the other Presidencies and to foreign countries or whether it was in consequence of diminished consumption caused by the enhancement of the rate of duty or whether it was occasioned to any extent by the illicit introduction of salt."

The Bombay Government then forwarded a statement showing the results of the operation of the salt excise from 1842-43 to 1845-46 and further informed that the subject was receiving their best attention. In reply the Directors again emphasised the utmost importance of the causes being clearly ascertained. They added, "If, after full inquiry, you should arrive at the conclusion that the increase of duty, in 1844, from 8 annas to 12 annas per maund, has occasioned the decrease in the consumption of this necessary of life, of the probability of which we entertain a strong opinion, we desire that you will apply to the Government of India for authority to reduce the duty to its former amount of 8 annas per maund."

On ascertainment of the views of Collectors and Commissioners, the general trend of whose opinions was that the decrease of consumption, if any, was not such as to call for any reduction of the duty, the Bombay Government replied: "We are unanimously of opinion, under the information we have obtained, no reduction in the present rate of excise is, at

present, necessary. We beg however at the same time to assure you, that we shall not fail to review periodically the effects of Act XVI of 1844 and if, at any time, it should appear necessary, for the welfare of the community and especially of the poorer classes, to adopt the remedy authorised by you, we shall not neglect to do so."

Meanwhile, it began to be increasingly felt that unrestricted right of manufacture was hardly in accord with a system of excise. For, on the one hand, it was not an easy task to effectively guard against clandestine removal of salt over a wide region and on the other, some of the salt works were not worth the expenses of the maintenance of the necessary police establishments. It also appeared to the authorities that they must be vested with more drastic powers and in some instances with inquisitional methods for the effective discharge of their duties. On persistent representation from the Bombay Government, for the enactment of a law on the above lines, the India Government passed the necessary measure in 1850. It, however, was a cause of complaint on the part of landed proprietors, who felt that their rights and interests were seriously affected, that they were subjected to loss and deprived of the means of making their waste lands productive.[1]

Sind.

Sind was acquired in 1843, and after four years of separate administration, was attached from 1847 to the Bombay Presidency.

In all parts of Sind salt was produced by an artificial process from patches of saline tracts with which the country was dotted. And in the southern part of Lower Sind salt was

1 *Vide* Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Company's Affairs, 1852-53, evidence of J. Pestonjee, No. 3906.

obtained naturally from the extensive natural deposits of the place. But the quantity thus collected was limited in consequence of the dreary wasteness of the region. The cost of production varied from two to three annas per maund in one part to one and one-fourth to two annas in another. The selling price was usually six pies or one anna above the cost of production. The naturally obtained salt was scarcely cheaper than the manufactured product.

For reasons, political as well as economic, it was not considered advisable to subject Sind salt to any duty of the nature of an excise or otherwise. On the one hand the imposition, all at once, of a heavy tax on an article of common use in a newly acquired territory was highly impolitic. On the other it appeared that the cost of preventive establishments against illicit manufacture in the province itself and contraband trade from salt-manufacturing native states traversing and surrounding it would be out of all proportion to the probable yield. So salt manufacture and sale in Sind was wholly unrestricted and with the exception of two small farms of salt works, yielding about an annual revenue of Rs. 100, the Government derived no income from salt throughout the province. But it appears that generally the same duties and rules used to prevail in Sind, in respect of import and export of salt, as were in force in other parts of the Bombay Presidency.

Mysore, Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara.

Two or three other territories, forming parts of the Company's possessions, deserve but passing reference.

First brought under direct British administration in 1831, Mysore was a part of British India till 1881. During the first twenty-five years of British administration the hopelessly chaotic condition of its national finance was considerably improved. But no new tax appears to have been imposed and no old tax increased. Of the various items of revenue, one consisted of

fees levied on pans for the manufacture of earth salt, which was generally consumed by the poorer classes throughout the country. It was not till 1873-74 that its manufacture was prohibited. The majority of the people consumed the marine salt imported from the sea coast of Madras.[1]

Coorg, annexed in 1834, was altogether dependent upon salt chiefly imported from the western coast.[2]

The two tracts, Ajmer, Merwara, were originally distinct districts and each possesses a history of its own. They were united under one officer in 1842. It was not till 1860 that the two districts were consolidated into one circle for purposes of customs and not till the lapse of nine years more was the customs entirely abolished. The indigenous methods of taxation, transit, export and town duties and a tax called Mapa[3] were retained and adhered to with only a slight improvement in 1836. Salt was imported but in one part of Ajmer salt exuded abundantly in years of heavy rain and was extracted by a special process but the manufacture was prohibited more than a decade after the end of the Company's rule.

V

During the Last Days of the Company's Rule.

The Charter of the East India Company was renewed for the first time in 1853. The Select Committee which sat on Indian affairs at the time had before them quite a good number of petitions[4] both from the British merchants as well as from

1 See the Petition of the Madras Native Association submitted to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1852-53, App. No. 7

2 *Ibid.*

3 A tax on the sale of every article in every village levied from persons not residing in the place.

4 For the list of petitions received by the Committee from India, *vide* 1st Report of the Select Committee, 1852-53, Appendix No. 7. And for the list of petitions from British merchants and manufacturers, *vide ibid*, Appendix No. 2.

all sections of the Indian population, equally praying for the abolition of the salt tax. The petitions from India bore eloquent and pathetic testimony to the undue severity with which the tax pressed on a very poor population. The British dealers, who had their own axes to grind, were even more emphatic in their condemnation of the oppressiveness of the tax. They still complained that the salt duty was designed by the Company to "protect a monopoly of its own of inferior salt," though the truth was as we had already observed, that the Bengal Government had on the contrary blunderingly placed them in a position of comparative advantage. And the complaint this time was even louder since the British salt industry was itself passing through a period of depression.[1] They also strongly pressed before the Committee what they had long contended that the manufacture and sale of salt by the Company was a manifest violation of the terms of the previous Charter.

All imploration and agitation for the abandonment of the tax fell on deaf ears. But the opinion prevailed that the manufacture of salt was repugnant to the provisions of the previous Charter. So when the bill originally passed through the Lower Chamber, manufacture of salt, whether carried on by the Company itself or under its control, was, by a special clause, declared to be unlawful from and after the 1st May, 1856. The entire trade, from the producers' end to the consumers, was to be absolutely free, subject only to such excise as might from time to time be decided upon. The clause was, however, subsequently dropped during the passage of the bill through the Upper House and the Lower Chamber finally agreed to the omission.

But the Court of Directors took the hint. They realized that the question was shelved only for the time being and was bound to raise its head again at the very first opportunity. They therefore asked the Government of India to hold an inquiry.

[1] See evidence of W. Worthington before the Select Committee on Indian Territories 1852-53, No. 7179. And also petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Wych, otherwise Droitwich, in the county of Worcester.

They further stated "they were aware that the present system was long-standing and had been maintained after frequent considerations as the safest mode of ensuring the collection of the revenue but that they were nevertheless very desirous that the Government should, if possible, cease to be connected with the manufacture of salt and that its function should be confined to the collection of the duty." Accordingly Plowden was appointed Salt Commissioner at the end of 1853 to carry on the desired investigation. Plowden entered into his work from the commencement of the following year.

In the interval steps were taken to tax the consumption of salt in the region, known as Saugar and Nerbudda territories, which was hitherto free to manufacture its own salt and open to unrestricted importation from outside. First acquired along with a large tract of country in Western India after the conclusion of the Mahratta war (1817-18) and placed under the administration of an Agent to the Governor-General, the area was incorporated into the North-Western Provinces in 1835. It continued in that position till the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861 but with a temporary break from 1842 to 1853 when it was administered for the second time as the direct charge of the Supreme Government. When Act XIV of 1843 was passed so that a large area in Western India was diked up by customs lines and the manufacture of alimentary salt prohibited within it, Saugar and Nerbudda remained unaffected. It was in 1855, after the reincorporation of the territories into North-Western Provinces, that the customs line was altered to bring the whole of the area within its fold and Act XIV of 1843 extended under notification by the Lieutenant-Governor (9th May, 1855) to them. The duties ordered to be realized on the importation of salt were variously fixed at Rs. 2, Re. 1-8-0 or Re. 1 per maund along three different parts of the line. The unrestricted manufacture of salt was brought to an end.

The newly extended customs line, which passed through regions little known in those days and in many parts wildly

mountainous, afforded very great opportunities for smuggling. Besides, the line did not extend far enough to the south with the sequel that large quantities of untaxed salt could reach the area from Rajputana and even pass beyond into the upper parts of the province. The imperfection of the line largely defeated the object of the law-maker. Only a small revenue was derived from it.

The province of Nagpur came into British possession in 1854. Notwithstanding the very inadequate knowledge of the new region, the customs line was once more changed, and necessarily in a very imperfect manner, towards the end of 1856 in order to comprehend this recently annexed tract within the zone of taxation.

In the North-Western Provinces the Government wanted to relieve the population of the Benares division by the abolition of the differential duty; for the districts were the furthest removed from the points at which the western salts were imported. For the purpose they invited the opinion of the Bengal Government but the latter opposed on the ground that the Bengal revenue could not in that case be maintained. So the idea was given up.

In 1855 was also passed an Act for the better protection of salt revenue in general and its provisions for the first time put some check, though slight, upon the manufacture of salt in the saltpetre factories.

Oude was annexed in February, 1856. A good deal of correspondence and discussion as to what should be done about salt followed immediately. Salt enough was made in the province not only for the consumption of the inhabitants but for extensive export. It was decided that the manufacture should be allowed to continue on a system of farms and accordingly in the beginning of 1857 the right to make salt in certain tracts was farmed out at a total yearly revenue which is believed to have been nearly 2 lakhs of rupees. But the outbreak of the Mutiny upset the whole plan.

Salt Commissioner's Recommendations.

It was about the middle of 1856 that Plowden brought his labour to a conclusion. The report which he submitted was a very comprehensive and valuable document, comprising an exhaustive study of the whole subject of supply of salt for British India. It was therefore well-fitted to be, as the writer himself had claimed, a text-book for all future reference on the subject.

We shall now summarize below the principal recommendations of the Commissioner.

Revenue System.

A system of modified excise, as more or less prevailed in the Bombay Presidency, was, in his opinion, a most eminently suitable method of realizing salt revenue. He therefore recommended its gradual adoption in the Madras Presidency. Similarly, he advocated the extension, by gradual and successive stages, of the partially begun excise system throughout the whole of Bengal. The system of retail sales in Bengal and of local sales at low prices, in addition to retail sales in Orissa, was to be abandoned at once. The Punjab system was to remain unaltered since in the existing circumstances of the country it was the best that could be devised. "Nothing would be gained by allowing private manufacture under excise licenses in addition to sale from the Government mines, at all commensurate with the additional expense and inquisition that would be necessary." The excise system was recommended for adoption in Sind as well.

Rate of Duty.

Then as regards the rate of duty. The Bombay excise rate of 12 annas per maund was considered fair and moderate and hence further reduction was on that ground deemed unnecessary. But Plowden noticed that the Bombay revenue was steadily on the

wane from the time the duty was raised to 12 annas. He therefore suggested that it might be advisable to revert to the original duty of 8 annas in case the shrinkage of revenue was persistent. The tax in Madras was to be equal to what it was in Bombay. So the Madras monopoly price was to be immediately brought down to what it formerly had been (Rs. 105 per garce). A corresponding reduction was no doubt to be made in the rate of sea and land import duties. When in the long run the excise system would be established in the province, the duty would of course be 12 annas per maund, the prevailing rate in Bombay, or whatever else the latter might in the meantime adopt.

In the opinion of the Commissioner, the Bengal tax, notwithstanding the reductions, was yet positively too high. If finances permitted, the tax was to be immediately lowered and levelled down with what existed in the North-Western Province. For there was no earthly reason why the residents of one portion of the Bengal Presidency would be more penalised or favoured than those of the other. Plowden also examined the question if it were desirable to increase the price of salt at the Punjab mines in order to equalise the tax between the two neighbouring provinces. He believed that a duty of Rs. 1-8 annas per maund might with convenience be adopted in the long run throughout the Bengal Presidency and the Punjab. To Oude, he proposed an extension of the salt laws of the North-Western Provinces.

Another important question, very often discussed in those days, was, whether it would not be more equitable to readjust the tax on salt in such a manner as to bring about a fair approximation of its prices in different parts of the country. Plowden's view on the particular point was that no such forced uniformity was desirable. For, the price of salt either in Bombay or in in Madras should naturally be cheaper than that of Bengal and the tax there, though it would, at first blush, appear to be small was not, however, in any way less when considered as a percentage of the cost price of the article.

Miscellaneous Recommendations.

The principle of the levy of export duty was declared unsound. Accordingly the export of salt by sea from the two great salt-exporting provinces of Bombay and Madras was to be exempt from the duty levied on salt intended for home consumption. And so long as the monopoly continued in Madras, the commodity was to be " made available for private exportation by sea not at certain ports only " but " from every place of its manufacture " at a price that covered only the actual cost of production at each place.

It was also recommended to prohibit, except under a license, the manufacture of earth salt in Madras, to discontinue the Moturpha tax levied on its production, to substitute for it the same excise duty as was imposed on the marine salt and to prevent, or to impose the equivalent duty on, the importation of earth salt from the native state of Padoocotta or from Mysore.

The Government had hardly time enough to consider the above suggestion when the Mutiny broke out in 1857.

Conclusion.

As we bring this long narrative to a close, a few points suggest themselves in our minds.

In the first place, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that till the end of the Company's rule, the salt tax policy was more or less actuated by the principle of " Pluck the goose with as little squealing as possible," and the financial administrators did seldom have in view, at least ostensibly, the broader principle of justice in taxation. Even their trains of reasoning, which they apparently put forward in defence of their action, smack of this mentality.

Secondly, it is difficult to conceive in our own days how throughout the greater part of the country the badness of roads and the general want of all easy communications prodigiously enhanced

the price of this bulky commodity in proportion as it radiated to the frontier in all directions. In order therefore to guage the true effects of the salt tax during the period of the Company's rule it is necessary that the above fact must constantly be kept in mind.

In the third place, it must strike everybody as somewhat strange that the financiers should have found no reason to provide for rebate or concession in some other form, on salt consumed for industrial purposes.[1] In all important countries known, wherever salt tax was levied at one time and another, it had always been the rule to allow at least a partial remission of tax on salt for industrial use. In India however the idea has always worked in the minds of the officials that there was no demand for salt in this country for agriculture and the arts for they are in too rude a state to create such a consumption.[2] And the whole thing formed a vicious circle for the Government policy did in its turn act as "a bar to the success of every attempt to introduce into the country any of the various useful processes in which salt is a necessary ingredient."[3]

Lastly, it is remarkable that a hundred years of rigorous taxation on an article which, to quote Fawcett, is "as much a necessary of life as the air we breathe or the water we drink,"

[1] For the sake of strict accuracy it must here be mentioned that in August, 1833, the Governor-General in Council had on the basis of petitions submitted by Messrs. Robert Ker & Co. of Calcutta, resolved that a drawback should henceforth be allowed the import duty taken upon English salt in the preparation of country cured provisions, on the exportation of that article to sea from the Presidency of Bengal subject to the conditions that parties intending to benefit by the indulgence would make known their purpose to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium in order that an officer from the Custom House might be appointed at the expense of the provisioner, to reside in the premises where the curing was conducted for the purpose of keeping an account of the quantity of English salt on which the drawback would be claimable. (Appendix No. 65 to the Select Committee on Salt, 183..)

[2] Report of the Board of Salt, January, 1832.

Also the evidence of Sir Frederick James Halliday before the Committee on Indian Finances, 1871-74, from which we make the following extract: 'The people dry their fish in the sun or eat it, I am sorry to say, in a putrid state but never think of salting it. Salting of meat is not allowed by climate.'

[3] Note by Hon'ble A. Ross, 29th March, 1833; Appendix No. 59 to the Select Committee on Salt, 1863.

were hardly disturbed by any riotous manifestation of discontent.[1] History records that the English people not only repined at the excising of their food but actually gave expression to their feelings of irritation in a violent manner. The excise in that country had virtually to be established at the point of the sword. And in the face of the hostile attitude of the people it could not be retained till the prime necessaries of life—flesh and salt—had been struck out of the list. Why then is this difference ? In the past this unquestioned acquiescence of the Indian people was not infrequently misunderstood as indicative of absence of any sufferings. But to one, who is even slightly acquainted with the psychology and temperament of our people, there cannot be any doubt about the true cause. As a high official once remarked "The poor undoubtedly grieve over the dearness and scarcity of what is an absolute necessary of life; but they do not, so far as I know, connect their distress with the taxation which causes it ; the evil is accepted as an inevitable condition of their hard and careless lives " [2] or as another put it, even more appropriately, "They accept things that come very much as the will of God." [3]

PARIMAL RAY

(Concluded)

1 True there had been a few disturbances. The outbreak at Surat and the uprising in Orissa were already referred to. Besides, there occurred a slight disturbance in Canara and two disturbances in the Trans-Indus area. But they did not last more than a day or two and none of them was of a sufficiently serious character.

2 Quoted in " Money's Note on Salt."

3 Evidence of J. Geddes before Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1871-74, 7th June, 1871.

The writer thankfully acknowledges bis indebtedness to Dr. J. C. Sinha for one or two suggestions and specially to Dr. P. N. Banerjea, who has favoured the writer not merely witb suggestions but has read through the whole of this paper in manuscript.

ASPECTS OF BENGALI SONG

Love, as an integral internal reality is formless. Its expressions are varied as devotional, conjugal, lawlessly human, parental and so forth. In Hindu Bengal devotional love is current in more than one general form. In Hara and Parvati it has the conjugal aspect, in Radha and Krishna the purely human. In Durga it is principally motherly love. Her child daughter on marriage is exiled from her parental home crushing the parental heart to which she is restored for only three days in the year. Under stringent rules of caste a rich man's daughter nursed in luxury may be married to a polygamous man in poverty adding to parental suffering. Copious tears flow even in the present day when the image of Durga is being prepared to be carried out of the worshipper's home for immersion in the river.

Songs in abundance have kept and even now continue to keep these three aspects of devotional love, living and burning in the heart of Hindu Bengal, even though the devotional feeling may not raise its pointing finger towards divinity. Songs also sing of Kali accepted as the universal mother rescuing her child—the devotee, from the flood of *Kal* which is time and trouble, to rest in peace of eternity. But naturally such songs are of an individualist character. There are songs connected with the religious sects of Baul, Sahajiyá and others of similar standing, which consecrate the body as the temple of the invisible Lord and sweetens fellowship with love. Songs by Ram Mohun Roy and by his associates are of a more universal and therefore of a less emotional character.

May some specimens be exhibited with the sincerest apologies for faulty translations. The exhibition opens with the

disorderly infant love of the soul called Radha for Krishna the Supreme :

Love's first fervour draws her on,
Hindrance none her binds,
Forth alone she goes for love,
Path, unpath unminds.
Deep the darkness of the night,
Heart-light Love affords :
Cut down journey's dangers all
Love's unfailing swords.

VIDYAPATI.

Her love gains in peace as it matures :—

The hut I built for joy of life
Is gone. *It* the fire has burnt;
In sea ambrosial while I bathe
To poison all is turned.
Oh friend ! the script of fate upon my front
Will end not, ne'er begun.
For coolth I crave for face of moon
I meet the blazing sun.
For fear of change I climb high hill
I plunged in plumbless sea.
I pray for fortune find but want.
Unlooked my gem leaves me.
I found a town I bank the sea
My gem again to find,
The sea is dry and hides the gem.
I feel my ill-fate grind.
In thirst I pray to plentious cloud
On me the thunder falls.
Oh ! more than death is Kanu's love
So Jnānadāsa calls.

JNANADASA.

On the turn is visioned the anguish of Durga's mother to be parted from her daughter following her husband :

My Uma's taken away from me
My heart cannot it bear !
That one alone whose love is torn
From heart can feel the tear.

In anxious expectation of a short visit from her daughter she feels the Divinity informing her expected visitor :

Oh! Mountain-lord my Gauri came,
She showed herself to me in dream;
She stole away my conscious life
Where's hid her form, the Light Supreme?

When Gauri came to her as daughter her feeling is human :

In Hara's home how fared thy days
Oh! tell me Uma, dear!
Oh! many men say many things
That pierce my heart through ear.
Amongst them people in whisper say
A mendicant is he;
And to be pair with son-in-law
Thy gold-form ash-rubbed be.

Another turn shows the worshipper of Kali :

Kali the Blissful

In life, he is the greatest joy
Who knows her, who is bliss Supreme.
He recks not holy sites or works
All Kali does—to him joy's cream.

(MAHARAJAH RAM KRISHNA OF NATORE.)

The spectator must feel more at home at the next turn It marks the revival of ancient Brahmanic faith in the dual aspects of Divinity—transcendence (Svarupa) and immanence (Upadhi) :

O, Him who is unreached by mind
How this eye can see?
He's threefold universe beyond
Devoid of form is He.
Imagination He transcends
And Vedic words to dumbness sends.

(RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY.)

To fear Him makes all terrors all,
To love Him makes belov'd of all,
A lifeless speck before wert thou,
He has given thee sentience now,
Has called the senses to thy aid.
Now, think thy choice, if wisely made,
To Him unmind, when truth is said.

Ibid.

Without the aid of illustrative symbols and examples, devotional feeling reaches the mind capable of distinguishing intellect from emotion. But no devotional song expressed in symbols of human beings and things of human life can only whisper into the devotees' heart their spiritual significance by the help of names adored. The opposite process is discernible in some songs. To the ear they are but songs of human love but in the process of assimilation the mind and heart are sucked up into the sphere of spirituality. Flowers picked up in Sridhar Kathak's garden of songs are presented in a bunch so that the spiritual fragrance may be preserved. Each by itself will not fail to charm the ear but with the risk of thought taking them only as songs of human love. When associated, their underlying spiritual unity will change the atmosphere of feeling.

Love for whom

I.

He mine, he mine, oh, say no more
I'm his, He 's mine,—does He not know?
Does He not know even this?
If mine, he'd come as constant bliss
Knows not Love absent burns in glow.

II.

Whoever absence says is ill,
Himself he's ever evil still.
Of absence I devotee be—
A store of joy gives absence me.

The end of day was near life's end
When far was sight of love, my friend,
In heart now love I ever see.

III.

A stranger he! then who's my own
My life—his trust, than life prized more
My name made black, reviled by eld.
In home and out of scorn the score.
And yet there is but one desire
His cling of love for this heart's score.

IV.

Love thou me—or love me not
All life my heart shall yearn for Thee
My life is thine to take at will
To give me life Thy glory be!

One question waits for answer. Can these songs be imprisoned within the human world of love between man and woman or do they rise as a prayer from soul to Soul Supreme? Is it dream alone that can see the hand of Harmony entwining these song-flowers into a garland, with the love pet of devotion, the love-thought that knows not life's limits, the love-unity that makes all one and one all, untouched by un-loves of life, and the self-effacing love that rests in peace on sweetness that is called glory?

More than half a century past there was a tradition current about a Bengali singer. He belonged to the Court of a rich and powerful Zemindar, a prince in the early days of British rule. As day followed day and secret chain of unwedded love between the singer and his master's childless widowed sister, fair and young, was woven by hand of Fate.

Day again followed day and the screen of secrecy was rolled up by the same hand. The outraged and enraged brother condemned the singer to death. He was tied to a post and the sword unsheathed to do its fatal work. The singer asked for a

respite to sing his last song. His last prayer was granted and he sang :

Once Thy endearment called me life,
Thou takest now that life away;
All joys of love, O, Thou gavest once
'Mongst whom are they now scattered say.

Had the song an ending that was left unsung when she, with hair dishevelled and *Sari* floating in the air over her left shoulder, and half-suppressed groan, clasped his feet, flooded with the tears from her eyes. Pity assuaged rage. His life was spared and she, exiled to Benares. It is profitless to enquire whether the tradition is at fault in identifying the singer with Śridhar.

The lotus, with colour so catching and scent so sweet and soothing grows from slimy muck. The hired nautch-girl sings :

I care not for Thy coin or shell
Nor ornaments of gold
O, let me live in love-joy sweet
What else can ev'r me hold!

An untraced Bengali singer invokes the solace of love's presence in absence in a tune of his own. It is kept for conclusion lest the harmonious flow of Śridhar's songs be impeded. He sings :

The heart can never love forget
A stranger love to death,
The cloud but hides of Moon the face
Love parted hides love's breath
From flint and steel in water plunged
Close hit, fire grit, ev'r rayeth.

The last taste of sweet is sweetest last. Poor translation must precede the rich original in silent expectation that the true character of the bunch of songs will be appreciated in delight.

HENRIK IBSEN

MODERN DRAMA

I.

The publication of '*Pillars of Society*' in 1877 marks a turning point in the history of Drama. It was the first step in what has since proved to be an interminable intrusion by the Dramatist into the relations between men and women in the Social Compact. For tens of centuries Dramatists had been apparently satisfied with the stock themes conveniently afforded by Romance: they had never even remotely imagined that the sordid social relations between the sexes could lend as edifying problems for discussion and command, as wide a human appeal on the plank of Drama, as the tragedies of Sophocles, Shakespeare or Racine. Henrik Ibsen was the pioneer who planted at the teeth of unparalleled animosity a few wonderful seeds of realism on the fertile soil of Drama. The mastery of the technique of realism by a succession of brilliant Dramatists has now almost driven away sentimental romance from the domain of present-day Drama. Realism in its multifarious manifestations has made its conquest of the theatre nearly complete and is to-day deep-rooted in Western consciousness. The foundations of Realism whereon the edifices of Ibsen's so-called 'Modern Drama' are constructed are unassailable and impregnable: inherently they are stable enough to stand the fiercest buffets of ignorance, cupidity and conservatism. The work accomplished was not of course the achievement of Ibsen alone: many other hands have laboured hard at it braving a hundred hostile influences: the peoples' very outlook, in spite of appearances to the contrary, during the past half a century of individual assertion has been singularly responsive to the new stimulus: Ibsen or no Ibsen, Realism would have come to its own anyhow. Still it would be nothing short of lunacy to undervalue the pioneering work of Ibsen: without him the work would doubtless have

been considerably delayed, possibly it would have been turned out in a different and a cruder cast. For Ibsen not only gave the signal but himself charged the new movement with the impetus to rush on with the tumult of an all-consuming force. And his masterpieces—and there are at least a dozen of them—are not *his* masterpieces only: they are still, and for ever will be, the masterpieces of Realistic Prose Drama whose creator he was. He did not step aside with unconcerned arrogance once he had sown the seeds: no, he nourished them, watched their hourly growth, sustained them assiduously with the enervating wine of his genius. When at last they had attained the pinnacle of perfection—when the seeds had assumed with careful deliberation and sure strength the magnificent proportions of the oak—the pioneer knew that his life-work was over and that now at any rate the theatre had been made safe for Realism. And so in satisfaction and triumph, as Prophet and Pioneer, in an incredible frame of mind and with an impenetrable placidity of demeanour passed away the strong, heroic soul of Ibsen, the idol of his country and the beacon-light of Nations. The dozen plays from '*Pillars of Society*' to '*When we Dead Awaken*' constitute his contribution to Modern Drama. A frank discussion of these from a mere human standpoint is all that is offered in this and the succeeding papers by the present writer. This is just a first study, and as such they should be considered by my indulgent readers.

Paradoxical as it may sound it is yet a fact that '*Pillars of Society*' is the least typical of Ibsen's great social dramas. Despite its colossal success in two continents, its wonderful plot, its audacious probing into certain vital social problems and above all the unmatched subtlety of some isolated scenes—that between Bernick and Aune in Act II for instance or the one where Bernick consults the crusty Rorlund for a good dose of dubious casuistic solace—one feels that after all the play is but a magnificent patching up. The plot indeed is in one sense the beginning, the middle and the end of '*Pillars of Society*.'

It is of course amazingly developed: or rather it is no development at all, properly so called. The art of the dramatist in this as also in his other plays consists in his unfaltering ingenuity to reveal the real plot by faultless retrospective narration. But it is done with exquisite and compelling art. Even the first act of Shakespeare '*The Tempest*' pales into insignificance in this respect. One feels that the plot is merely stationary though with puzzling alteration it now seems to go forwards and now again to swing backwards with an abrupt movement. In the end one knows all, but these had happened long, long ago. One is delighted, charmed, stunned: one closes the book with a vague uneasiness. Anon he takes it up again and must read it from the beginning.

This is the story of '*Pillars of Society.*' Karsten Bernick the chief character in the play is a ship-builder. He loves one Lona Hessel, is betrothed to her younger sister and has had a long liaison with an actress to his credit. Lona and he cannot marry for she is not sufficiently rich; the other sister is an excellent catch, for her aunt has left her mistress of a whole fortune; he decides to marry her as he is convinced that he must absolutely have some money to place his tottering business on a stable foundation. Lona naturally resents this but there is nothing else to be done. At this point a theatrical company comes to the town and with it the actress also. Bernick is anxious to avoid a scandal and goes to meet her wishing once and for all to make it up with her and come to reasonable terms. The husband of this unfortunate woman returns unexpectedly and poor Bernick has to run away to escape detection by jumping out of a window. In a few hours the town is full of strange rumours. Bernick is in a dreadful dilemma. He is on the brink of despair. But luck in the person of Johan Tonnensen, a friend of his and the younger brother of his betrothed, saved the wretched man. Johan runs away to America to forge a new life there leaving Bernick to exploit the situation as best as he may. Certainly Bernick is not the man now to flinch.

Moreover Lona also follows Johan close on his heels to America. Bernick is thankful beyond expression to these benevolent souls for this ready and anticipatory amenability on their part. He does not vacillate, he sets to work in studied deliberation. There surely was a scandal connected with the actress but it was the runaway that was responsible for it. More than that the niggardly Johan had also taken away with him the cash box of Bernick & Co., shipbuilders, in which firm he had been employed. It all bore the impress of verisimilitude. Everybody gave credence to the story. Bernick's sister herself, the incomparable Martha, has to believe this, she who loves Johan as only a woman can ; as for the other woman she too is kept in blissful ignorance but marries Bernick all the same, content to be the wife of the prosperous shipbuilder of the place. On this lie are built up the fortunes of Bernick but none knows it and he easily passes for a 'Pillar of Society.'

Rorlund, a school-master of the place, and Hilmar Tonnensen, Mrs. Bernick's cousin, din into abject Karsten's ears the high principles on which the community should be reared and the invulnerable code of moral discipline and propriety which should be necessarily conformed to by every 'Pillar of Society.' Rorlund is a miserable and detestable personage with an extraordinary propensity for talking about the ingredients of moral excellence. He feels that by special edict of God he has been appointed guardian of the morals of the community it has pleased Him to make him live in. As for Hilmar he has an equally important urge in life, to keep him fully occupied whether in the province of thought, speech or action—only the last is nil. His glorified mission in life is to hold aloft 'the banner of the ideal' and help Rorlund as far as it lies in his power to function as the unpeccable moral pillar of society. It is inevitable that such blindness should infect others too in the long run : and so it does. Mrs. Bernick, Martha, the members of the Society for Fallen Women—they are all so *moral*. Karsten Bernick himself is irreproachable in his

conduct. He is occasionally troubled by his conscience but the latter always takes care to be a money-making conscience. He has made heaps of money ; he has even made liberal donations towards the general welfare; he is, when the play opens, the richest and the most influential person in his town; his home is the model home of the place, his conduct the model conduct; his morality is universally regarded as spotless. Any villainous project would meet with public approval were his name to be associated with it. None would dare to suspect him of complicity in any questionable undertaking. And all this Karsten owes to the self-sacrificing amiability of a true friend and to his own unscrupulous self-centredness. In the pithy language of Lona 'all this grandeur..... is founded on a treacherous morass.' This veritable 'pillar of society' has another nefarious scheme up his sleeve. A railway line is to be opened: not certainly the coastal line that was proposed the year before and which Karsten had stoutly opposed as it would then have injured the steamboat trade and consequently his own industry. This is a new scheme altogether: this would not touch his pockets ; far from it. There is the very real possibility of a metamorphosis in his financial condition, of his eventually turning out to be a multi-millionaire. Only he has need of all the backing up of his terrible reputation for fair-dealing and meticulous honesty: yes, he must play his cards well, he could never play them too well. With two other equally hypocritical scoundrels he hatches an infernal plan: the accomplices are to get a fifth part of the net profits as their share. The wealthy capitalist as he is, Bernick proposes to buy all the lands, mines and waterfalls through which a branch line to his own town will have to pass if ever it should be decided upon and of course with his prodigious influence he is sure of its coming to pass sooner or later. Then would the price of the lands rise and the transaction cannot fail to put a few millions into his purse. At this point the play ostensibly opens. Bernick is all jubilation ; Rorlund is all preaching. Unexpectedly

as a bolt from the blue arrive Lona and Johan after fifteen years of unremitting toil in an alien land. The whole household is thrown in utter confusion. Hilmar and Rorlund fidget and fumble in uncontrollable agitation. The Society for Fallen Women suddenly breaks up. In the eyes of all the newly arrived pair are but a visible monstrosity. So assiduous has been the pernicious propaganda of the Bernicks, of Rorlund and of Hilmar, that everyone shrinks and recoils at the sight of Johan. But in the inner recesses of Bernick's heart there are stirrings of a very disturbing nature. That they should come just now and create a scandal, "just when I must be backed up by every iota of my reputation! I wonder if after all I would be able to weather the storm and carry through my project. And if it should fail, I would be a ruined man: I have been too rash in buying up those huge tracts of land in the hope of —no, the hopes have no prospects of fulfilment: no prospects whatsoever!"

Yet Bernick does not give up the tussle with fate: thank God, he is made of sterner stuff. This past-master of dissimulation welcomes the pair with remarkable equanimity and instructs everyone to do likewise. No allusion to the past! So runs his peremptory order to one and all. But there is Dina. She is Karsten's own illegitimate daughter taken after the actress's death into the Bernick household and brought up by Mrs. Bernick and Martha as almost one of themselves: but the curious circumstance is that when Johan was made the scapegoat for the liaison he automatically became the father as well of the child. As one more twist in the course of events Johan immediately after his return from America falls in love with Dina who is already though only secretly (the coward dared not affirm it in public) betrothed to Rorlund. The latter as soon as he comes to know of this is incensed more on account of the deep moral pit into which the unhappy Dina would fall than on his own. A shattering scene follows in which Rorlund tells Dina that it is the seducer of her own mother that she is

making love to: Johan and Lona are thunderstruck; this really is too much. They demand an explanation of Bernick: they insist that Johan must be exonerated in the eyes of Dina. The ugly situation grows uglier still: Karsten's mind is rent by conflicting emotions. It is all obviously a nuisance: he could afford to ignore it but for the blessed railway project. And this Johan is threatening to let the cat that had so long slumbered in obscurity out at the very moment when a deputation of the citizens is to wait upon him and make him a rich present thanking him for the meritorious services that by precept and by example he had so long rendered to the community. No, he need not capitulate yet: here at last there is a way out. Johan proposes to go that very day to America on board the 'Indian Girl.' He hopes to return in a couple of months having settled his affairs there: but Karsten would prevent that. The 'Indian Girl' shall sink on the way: *she shall*. Then the spectral agony would also go down to the bottom of the sea. Alas, Karsten has reckoned without his host. The perversity of fate is not so simple as all that. As it actually happens, Johan and Dina quietly pack off to America leaving Lona to deal with the culprit in any manner that she likes: but they go on board 'The Palm Tree' and not the 'Indian Girl.' However Karsten's little son Olaf is in the 'Indian Girl': his father's autocracy had been too much for him and he is going to run away to America in the company of uncle Johan. Karsten understands the fatal truth: the edifice of his ambition staggers and swims before his sight: he knows he has sinned in vain, nay, sinned only to pull the noose round his neck tighter. And the procession of citizens to honour him is approaching him and in mute scorn a banner faces him illuminated and transparent whereon he quietly reads to his indescribable torment: 'Long live Karsten Bernick, Pillar of our Society!'

But Olaf is saved after all: Mrs. Bernick and Aune effect this at the very eleventh hour. Karsten experiences a new

feeling: remorse for his evil deeds and the slumbering and smouldering lie of his life smites him: he is spurred on by a sublime thought. Now is the time for him to tear asunder in the presence of all the veil of hypocrisy and make open confession of his early infamy. He rises to the occasion: in answer to the address of the people eulogising his services Bernick in an unruffled tone and with calm emphasis makes the following indictment of the era that is just ended:—

'The old era—with its affectation, its hypocrisy and its emptiness, its pretence of virtue and its miserable fear of public opinion—shall be for us like a museum, open for purposes of instruction.'

His confession immediately follows. The assembly gradually disperses hotly discussing what has happened in all its bearings. As for Karsten he has lifted the killing weight of years from off his shoulders. The hero of Lona Hessel's youth stands 'free and true:' as an apt gloss to his heroic action she tells him, her hand lying firmly on his shoulder, that "the spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom" are the real pillars of society.

It would be seen even from the foregoing distorted and cumbrous recapitulation of the plot how successful on the stage 'Pillars of Society' should have been. Indeed it was generally so highly applauded that in such countries as Germany and Austria it had very long and successful runs and the public was genuinely in insatiable raptures over it. No class was particularly offended as the play hit only at the false *ideas* of society. Ibsen, early in life, had been struck by the phenomenon of the few rich and the many poor, of the existence of unscrupulous impostors and their unfortunate prey; and in this play he gives us the reason why such things are rampant in society. He feels that the ideas that govern and are governed by society are so rotten at the centre that such a miserable state of affairs as the world is witness to to-day is only the natural and unescapable conclusion. Bernick coolly says: "the lesser must go down before the greater: the individual must be sacrificed to the

general welfare." Why 'must?' one gasps. Still that has become the watchword of society, Again the undue insistence on a supposed morality washes nature clean from his conduct. Is one to be moral or simply natural ? This is the crucial question of Dina, one of the 'fallen creatures:' why 'fallen?' But society is incorrigible: the shame of the mother descends unto the daughter with mathematical precision. Ibsen had brooded over all these knotty points in human relationships and social iniquities for long. The arch-individualist of his age, Ibsen returned to these questions, in his succeeding dramas every time with increasing pertinacity. In 'Pillars of Society' he touched upon his favourite theme with success but he took care not to offend his critics. He had won his way now: the complete Ibsen might now come forth. In any case he would be heard. 'Pillars of Society' had seen to that.

And so after a brief interval of two years came out '*A Doll's House.*' It would be hideously banal to refer to the epoch-making character of this play. Its technique no less than its vindication of woman's inherent right to realise her responsibility and assert her independence made its appearance sensational. Till the middle of the third act there is nothing that surprises or irritates the reader: it is then that the innovation in technique is made clear and the rational social viewpoint consistently developed. The bare facts of the story are told in a few words. Helmer is a young man who has just now been appointed manager of a Bank. He is what the majority would call a sensible and moral human being, the father of three nice children, the husband of Nora, a man of position in society and in every instance above criticism from our accepted canons of morality. He has a particularly horrid dread of debts. "No debts ! No borrowing !" These are his *principles.* Unfortunately destiny too often plays with principles. In the very first years of his wedded life he had fallen seriously ill. A foreign tour alone could have saved him. But he had no money and "seriously Nora knew his principles in these points." But she

had the passion of the heroines of Romance to risk all and somehow save him. Her father was dying: she quietly borrowed the required sum from one Krogstad executing a promissory note: when pressed for better security she forged her father's name: she found nothing wrong there. She was going to repay the money anyhow. What did it matter whether she forged or not? She told her husband that her father had provided her with the money necessary for the journey. The foreign tour saves him in the long run. Her big purpose so successfully achieved, she repays the sum in instalments partly derived from her own pocket money but largely earned by herself by means of some drudgery or other. Almost the entire sum has been repayed. It is now Christmas: Nora, the 'bird,' the 'squirrel' 'my little lark' is busy arranging the Christmas purchases. An old friend of hers, one Mrs. Linden, arrives and asks Nora to use her influence with her husband to get for her some minor post in the Bank. It fits in perfectly with Helmer's scheme. He has already been planning to dismiss Krogstad, who is also in the Bank, and the applicant Mrs. Linden comes very handy. This is signal for inordinate complications. Krogstad reminds Nora of the legal implications of forgery and threatens to take steps if she does not intercede immediately on his behalf and prevail upon her husband to reinstate him in office. She is in tense bewilderment: she is struck dumb when told that "the law takes no account of motives." What! *she* to be condemned for her little error of judgment—no, it was not even that: she had made sacrifices and saved her husband, that's all. In rage and visible emotion she asks Krogstad:

"Do you mean to tell me that a daughter has no right to spare her dying father trouble and anxiety?—that a wife has no right to save her husband's life?"

And anon she adds with innocent conviction:

"I don't know much about the law but I'm sure you'll find, somewhere or other, that that is allowed."

The lofty erection of this conviction experiences its first rude shocks from Helmer himself. He is earnestly entreated by Nora to keep poor Krogstad in office. Helmer, however, is stubborn. He cannot sacrifice his principles on any account : and to have a forger in his office—it is unthinkable. Nora slowly understands that a forger is not, however divine the motives that had prompted the deed, so lightly to be dismissed. The dramatic irony of the scene that follows is overwhelming. He is giving hint after hint and each cuts her and pierces her at the most vulnerable spots. "Every breath the children draw contains some germ of evil." "Nearly all cases of early corruption may be traced to lying mothers." "It gives me a positive sense of physical discomfort to come in contact with such people." "And here has this Krogstad been poisoning his own children for years past by a life of lies and hypocrisy—that is why I call him morally ruined." All the while Helmer is thinking of Krogstad : but poor Nora is thinking naturally of herself alone. She now knows that the world is not what she had fondly imagined it was. She throws back her head in defiance when all by herself and passionately exclaims : "It is not true ! It can never, never be true !"

Alas ! she knows not; it is only too true and she will learn the bitter lesson and drink the cup of disillusionment soon, only sooner than she expects. Undaunted still, she pleads for Krogstad and brings forward strange reasons : 'This man writes for the most scurrilous newspapers..... He can do you no end of harm.' Helmer is unyielding and adamant. Under her very nose he despatches Krogstad's dismissal. She is annihilated : Helmer but laughs at her deep concern, thoughtless and meaningless as he considers it to be. Meanwhile Krogstad has received the fatal communication and hurries to meet Nora. A painful scene surcharged with tragic consequences follows. Driven to sheer desperation she says that she would commit suicide. But the pitiless Krogstad, also driven to desperation, piles her with pungent and deadly sarcasm ; "Under the ice, perhaps? Down

into the cold, black water ? And next spring to come up again, ugly, hairless, unrecognisable..." The interview makes matters worse : it accelerates the catastrophe. Krogstad moved on by the impulsion of an irresistible rancour drops a letter into Helmer's letter-box. Nora can do no more. She is helpless, miserable and stirred deep in the profundities of her soul. Mrs. Linden makes now her timely appearance. She learns quickly how matters stand. She promises to use her influence (she had been Krogstad's lover once) over the money-lender and persuade him to demand his letter back unread ; only Nora should manage to keep her husband away from the letter-box for some time. Nora's spirits revive : she clutches at this last straw with all the doggedness of the condemned. But as luck would have it Krogstad is away from town and would not be back till next evening. Nora for her part has made Helmer promise not to go near the letter-box till next night, till after the dance should be over. As the hours pass an inexplicable toughness of character is in speedy formation within Nora. She does not care now a straw whether Krogstad demands the letter back or not. As she herself says : " Things must take their own course. After all, there's something glorious in waiting for the miracle." The ' miracle ' she alludes to here is the ideal line of conduct she believes her dear Helmer will pursue once in possession of the facts. She has no doubts on this point : she is convinced that Helmer would not hesitate to take the entire responsibility for the forgery on his own shoulders and say to all the world : " No, my wife did not do it : she did it only egged on by me : I am the culprit." Has he not himself said : " Do you know, Nora, I often wish some danger might threaten you, that I might risk body and soul, and everything, everything for your dear sake ? " Act III opens at this stage. Mrs. Linden and Krogstad are closeted together down below : the Helmers are dancing and playing the tarantella, Krogstad and Mrs. Linden strike a practicable bargain : they are both shipwrecked souls and it were best if they cling to one raft. Krogstad proposes to get

his letter back: but the 'idealist' in her would have none of it. "Helmer must know everything:...They must have done with all these shifts and subterfuges." And so we are to watch the grim catastrophe that has all but completed its woeful distillation. Helmer after postponements and indecisions opens the letter-box and sits late at night to devour his correspondence. She hurries into her apartment with wild eyes and prepares for final exit: her ideal Torvald Helmer shall not save her, she had better die herself! "Oh, that black, icy water! Oh that bottomless! If it were only over!" At this very moment in the bridal chamber sits Torvald, tired, reading with supercilious indifference Krogstad's letter. What! this is quite a new thing altogether! He flings the door open letter in hand. He has been too active for Nora. Straightforwardly she makes her confession. His fury knows no bounds: he mutters curses and abuses in oratorical profusion. The 'miracle' simply fizzles out. To him Nora is no erring, if also loving, wife to be caressed and protected: she is a liar, a hypocrite, a criminal. "Oh, the unfathomable hideousness of it all!" he cries in self-centred anguish: it almost seems incredible; he would fain not stare at its native monstrosity. As the impossible situation gets actually upon our nerves and we inaudibly hear the earth crash under our feet and the sounds rise to culminate and anon fade into unsubstantial nothingness, a ring below announces a visitor. It is the porter in 'Macbeth' over again. Helmer goes to the door and comes back with a letter. It is addressed to Nora: but he breaks open the seal and reads. To his unimaginable dismay it is Nora's promissory note with a brief note of explanation and apology from Krogstad. He tears the I. O. U. and the letters as well to small pieces. Those scruples he just now made so much of, with the assurance that his name would suffer no damage now or ever, vanish like exploded bubbles. He now talks big of her love for him, of his having surely forgiven her, of his ready willingness to give her a helping hand in all her difficulties in the years to come. But the rollicksome gaiety of Nora is gone,

never more to return. She has too severely paid her toll for all her adherence to the ideals of the " womanly woman." While the frantic husband is talking incoherent words to soothe the woman he has so deeply wronged she mechanically takes off her masquerade dress and reappears in everyday costume. He cannot understand her action and asks her why. " I shall not sleep to-night," she says bluntly. He starts, so strange is her attitude, colourless, rigid and indifferent. And now the extraordinary thing happens: the apparent denouement has passed off and yet the play does not end. Something bewildering from the point of view of stage technique is introduced. Nora, still in that same cold expressionless tone, but nevertheless in ominous language, asked Torvald to sit down. " You and I have much to say to one another." What next ? One pantingly asks. Well, what follows is discussion: in question and counter-question and in Nora's affirmations are given out a constructive social doctrine. Nora proposes to leave her husband there and then and enter the wider world to feel for herself her bearings to it. Her ideals shattered, her romantic fancies thoroughly disillusioned, her last shred of hope—that ' miracle ' itself—torn irremediably, she is a new woman. Her soul is enkindled with the fire of a new and a more natural life. The 'open sesame' of idealists—the watchwords of duty, propriety, morality—leaves her cold. To Helmer's reminder " Before all else you are a wife and a mother " comes the pert retort: " That I no longer believe. I believe that before all else I am a human being just as much as you are...I can't be satisfied with what most people say, and what is in books. I must think things out for myself, and try to get clear about them." She is no squirrel, no bird of his: Helmer understands this at last. The precious word ' society ' falls flat too when aimed at vanquishing her: she coolly remarks, " I must make up my mind which is right ...society or I." She tells him mildly but nevertheless emphatically that in reality " she has been living here these eight years with a strange man! " She ought really to tear herself to pieces

for this abomination of her life! He is deadly pale: he is horrified: he blinks stupidly. By the side of this masterful woman he is a helpless child. She snaps his objections with an abrupt and decisive movement. They exchange their wedding rings. There is to to be perfect freedom on both sides, she says: They are no more to write to each other. With a militant farewell she goes out. Helmer sinks exhausted into his chair: she could no more hear her Helmer's groans.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(To be coutinued)

ON SENTIMENT

Some things are indefinable; "sentiment" is one of them. Exactly to convey its meaning is not possible. All one can do is to try to explain it as lucidly as one can. Not that this is any the easier. But nothing is lost in making an attempt.

Sentiment is a thing *within* us. It is a kind of feeling. It is akin to pity: pity in its silent form One does not vociferate sentiment,—that is to say, the genuine article. One often enough, of course, makes known one's *sentiments*. But that is different, as everyone knows: "sentiments" merely standing for "opinions." It is a reflexion on the English language that the singular and the plural of the same word should, in certain instances, carry different meanings. But that is neither here nor there.

Sentiment, then, is not a loud thing: one does not cry it out from the house-tops. Like most beautiful things, it is *felt*, not expressed. It cannot be acquired: one has it, or one has it not, like the *ars poetica* or a caul. Often, indeed, one cannot vouchsafe a reason for cherishing a sentiment: one is driven along with it as by an invisible but irresistible force. An explanation can, of course, be sought; and it is invariably referred to usage, inheritance, and the like. Whatever it may be, this is certain, that it is inborn, and that we have not the making of it in our own hands.

There are conflicting views as to the value of sentiment in the scheme of things. I do not propose to go through them at great length. Suffice it to say that some admit its value, some do not. My own opinion is that there is no place for sentiment in the world as it stands. The world of to-day is essentially a bad world. At any rate, it is a merciless world: a world for the strong, the pushful, the vain-glorious: a world that does not recognize the under-dog. Now, if I have accurately depicted the world, what place is there for sentiment in it? Does not

sentiment in its most general form mean a merciful kind of feeling towards the unfortunates, the down-trodden, the physically unfit? Where is such a merciful feeling to-day? And if, perchance, there is, what amount of encouragement does it receive? These are questions to which no satisfactory answers can be given. It is not enough to cite a few stray cases, to mention with *aplomb* what this heiress has done, or that millionaire has accomplished,—we must, as the saying goes, get down to bed-rock and discover whether the generality of mankind is in a hopeful, benefiting way. The answer, I fear, will be in the negative.

There are those, of course, who assert that sentiment is bad, *per se*. In no age is its influence good. It makes for an ill-fitted world. Thorough competition, the rigorous elimination of the unfit,—it is these that tend to improve the world, to increase its efficiency. Let there be a show of the slightest softening of the heart, the merest indication of the stretching of the helping hand to those who cannot help themselves: and see what a rent will be made in the otherwise faultless stitching of the world! Matters should be allowed to take their own course. They invariably do, in the animal and the vegetable kingdoms. It is only man—the accursed beast that he is—that constantly meddles with the ordained course of affairs, that puts his finger in every pie, and hasn't even the consolation of carrying his point in the end. Now, in this connection, a remark or two of my own may not be quite out of place. Darwin's "Origin of Species" has done an incalculable amount of harm. For this, Darwin himself is not to blame. But his book has been misunderstood woefully: most innovations have been. "We must never forget that, alongside of any great truth, there is certain to be a sham and a counterfeit of that truth" (Charles Kingsley). "Wherever," said Cardinal Newman, "the true Jerusalem is built, there is a Samaria close at hand." Even so has been the case with Darwin's theory. There is a substratum of truth in what he said about the struggle for existence, natural

selection, and so forth. But he never meant to apply them to human conditions. That, nevertheless, is what has been done. People have copied his premises wholesale in our own institutions. Now, this is a perversion of truth as glaring as any in the annals of history. Darwin had not in his mind thoughts to stamp out sentiment from the affairs of men. Men are on a level apart. And the evolution of man has not been on parallel lines with that of animals and plants. The whole evolution hypothesis has undergone modifications since the time of Darwin; and Darwin himself, though he was the first to lay down succinctly a scientific basis to the theory of evolution, was mistaken on the main points. But on that I need not dwell here. The point is that the bodily importation of phenomena from the lower kingdoms to that of our own is a fatal blunder, and has been the main instrument in originating the evils that are besetting the world at the present moment.

I have thought it necessary to refer to Darwin and his book, because it strikes me that to him (all unconsciously) must be traced most of the loose-thinking of to-day that passes current for unalloyed wisdom. As I have said, the man of sentiment is strangely out of place in the present state of society. Society is in the melting-pot: it does not know its own bases. All is fish that comes to its net. Clearly, it is not governed by moral principle. Money and Power—these are the only gods that it worships. The old-fashioned codes of honor, morality, and such-like superfluous attributes of the human being, are clean swept out. Modern society cares not for what players call the rules of the game; but it cares extremely about winning. It has become a sort of commercial transaction; and commerce in any form fights immensely shy of sentiment. Commerce and sentiment indeed! Never was a conjunction so palpably inappropriate; why, they are as poles asunder.

Poetry is three parts sentiment. There can be no true poetry without it. Poetry soothes the soul: it imparts to it a peculiar quiescence and security. It is the very balm in Gilead

to many an aching heart. People took to poetry in the old days as a duck takes to water. But what is the state of affairs now? To ask the question is to give the answer.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that there can be too much of a good thing. Sentiment may be carried to excess. And then it becomes insufferable. It may become a *mode*, a fashion, a catchword. There is always a danger of sentiment degenerating into "sentimentality." Often it does. Now, sentiment is as different from sentimentality as, say, pure gold is from any of its alloys. Sentimentality is easy of acquisition: sentiment is born with one. The former is a counterfeit of sentiment. Invariably it is an apology for it and a bad one at that. It borders upon hypocrisy. As Mr. G. W. E. Russell says, "Sentimentality is a synonym for affectation; but sentiment is one of the great realities of life, and when it is uttered in fluent and harmonious verse, it takes men captive even in spite of themselves." Sentimentality, in short, consists in the outward show of things. It is a way of doing things, not because the doing of it is necessary, not because it renders any material relief to one's feelings, but because it conforms to an earthly code, because it satisfies a human convention. Often enough there is little real feeling behind it, small charge of power behind the shot.

There is, again, what is known as "sentimentalism." It is found mostly in books. Certain novels are full of it. It appeals to the bulk of readers. And even some reputed authors, it must be admitted, pander to the public taste in this connection. The point may be stated in this way. There is a widespread prejudice in favour of the good ending of a story. No matter what the previous structure of it may be, the incidents must be so adjusted that the closing is happy. It should wind up with the ringing of bells, and the joining of hands. Some people would fain turn "that tangled wilderness, the world, into the trim Dutch-garden of the story-tellers." "Life is real, life is earnest,"—but what of that? Stories are outside of life; and

whatever happens there is beyond our own limited understanding. Now, it is only too easy, as a certain writer has well put it, to write for those avoid of sentimentalism, to express what Thomas Huxley calls "sensualistic caterwauling." But in the case of a serious author there must be room for all life, but not for a lean or lush statement of life. In other words, even fiction must approximate to reality.

C. L. R. SASTRI

DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE FAIRIES?

Do you believe in the fairies
In little elfin things,
That fly across the fields at night
With shimmering silvery wings.

Oh! I believe in the fairies
And all the elves, I do.
Know that they they come just laden
With heavenly things for you.

Laden with gifts of virtue
And gems of honor bright,
They deck each happy mortal
Whom they fly past each night.

And if you believe in the fairies
They 'll bring you a gift most true
Of Love, from their treasure house
Right into the heart of you.

CHERRY JALASS

THE DREAM OF HOUR

Into the hush of evening
A thrush poured melody;
Far up the rustling lane
In some dim wood,
An owl hooted, and then,
A night-jar called.....
High on the hills, where burned
The golden fires of sunset,
A cuckoo woke and threw his eerie
Call echoing thro' the trees.
The long golden ripples of grass
Drew purple cloaks...then grey,
As the quiet dusk-hour waned.....
Fields rich in clover-bloom
Wound their fragrant scent
Like yellow smoke
Around the closing arms of night.
Lulled into peace
The sleepy songsters sought their nests,
All tongues were still,
And silence held the world in thrall,
Until a nightingale hereby
Awoke, and spelled by the moon
Tossed tiny notes of song
Like flecks of silver at the night.
And then my wild mad soul
Ravished with his ecstasy, fled!
Fled along the golden path
That reaches to the moon.....there,
Hand in hand with love
We walked among the moon-swept stars,
Following the trail
Of pure sweet dreams, and lovely thoughts,
That call and point
The long white road to Paradise.

LELAND J. BERRY

A JAPANESE TEMPLE

It was a glorious autumn day with a soft, cool, air blowing through the swaying masses of susuki when I set out to walk to the ancient Japanese temple of Kita-yama. Eagerly I set out from the station, my way lying through the rice-fields, where the harvest hung like thatch on bamboo hoardings. Here and there I caught glimpses of the golden fruit of the persimmon trees and was reminded of the Garden of the Hesperides. In the distance were low hills aflame with colour as only the hills of Japan can be, while, behind them all, rose the snowcapped summits of the Asahi range of mountains.

The temple rested on the slopes of a small hill, its warm colours blending with the surroundings. I was struck by a strangeness about it which I found it difficult to place. Suddenly I realised that gates were lacking, so that it seemed as if the temple was indeed a part of its surroundings. Later I learnt that many years ago a great saint was priest there and he ordered the removal of the gates so that no suggestion of a barrier should be made.

The priest was a man of culture and his room, although bare of everything that spells comfort to the Western mind, awoke in me a feeling of contentment. Here one might linger while the golden hours fleeted swiftly by. The paper-covered shogi were wide open affording a view of stately pine trees, standing guard over the tomb of some benefactor of the temple, which was placed on the summit of a tiny knoll. On the other side of the room stood two dainty six-fold screens, each fold a delicate painting representing a month. At the end of the room was the alcove, or toko, where the Japanese display their household treasures. In the alcove I saw a vase and behind a painting of Kobo-daishi, the founder of their sect.

I was shown around the temple by the bo-san or priest. Its main contents were tablets, vases, and artificial sprays of

lotus flowers commemorating the departed, yet still cherished souls. Someone who had come to do homage to a departed one must have just gone as I entered for there were several fresh sprays and the sticks of incense which are lighted by each visitor were still burning, casting a faint elusive fragrance throughout the tiny temple.

I passed into the Ihai-dan, the room of the ihai, or small commemorative tablets, listing the names of the family dead. Here the same ceremony of the incense and flowers is performed, although not so often.

The autumn day was brought to a close in a neighbouring vineyard on the side of a hill, where, as custom decreed, I sat awhile, eating the ambrosial grapes which had been freshly picked for me. Then silently rose and went slowly down the flame-enshrined slopes of the hill through the gathering dusk toward the rick-shaw which awaited me to take me back to the station and civilisation.

A. CAILLET-BAXTER

TURBERVILE'S EPITAPHES, EPIGRAMS, SONGS AND SONETS

In studying the life and literary products of an author, one must be acquainted with the epoch of history, and the time in which he lived. So closely related are literature and history that neither one can be understood without the knowledge of the other, since each epoch is characterized by qualities of thought and feeling peculiar to its age.

George Turbervile belonged to an old Dorsetshire family, the D'Urbervilles of the novel of Thomas Hardy, "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," and he was born in 1540 during the Tudor and the Elizabethan period. He was educated at Winchester and New College. He left the latter before he took a degree, and entered one of the Inns of the Court, where he was admired for his poetry. He became the Secretary to Thomas Randolph, Esq., who went as Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia. In 1568 he wrote "Poems describing the places and manners of the country and peoples of Russia." Turbervile, like his friend and fellow worker, Barnabe Googe, composed very little original poetry, although he translated quite a bit. Ovid's "Heroical Epistles," Mantaun's "Ecologues" and Mancinus's "Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue" were all translated by him between 1567 and 1568. By 1605 Ovid's "Heroical Epistles" had run through four editions—1567, 1569, 1600, and one without a date.

In 1567 his only volume of original poetry, "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets" was published. Here he used the metre of Surrey. This metre was of English origin, which was probably a development of the ballad quatrain. It has been called "poulter's measure" because of the dozen of eggs which varied then between twelve and fourteen. It is the "common time" of the hymn book or a combination of two sixes and a fourteener. Since there is no doubt about the accent, it is quite

easy to write; it also saves rimes. But it is very lyrical in quality. The following lines illustrate:

"The more I gazed upon hir face,
I lykte my love the more.
Forthwith I thought my hart out of his romme was rapt,
And wits (that woonted were to wayte on reason) were intrapt."

That Turbervile was a man of taste is shown in his lines to Surrey where he praises him because

"Our mother-tongue by him hath got such light,
As ruder speech thereby is banished quite"

and because he puts "each word in place." Turbervile very much admired the refining influence of Surrey and tried, with some success, to carry it on in his own "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets." His praise of Surrey shows no small amount of skill in managing the heroic couplet with ease.

"What should I speake in prayse of Surrey's skill,
Unless I had a thousand tongues at will?"

Also:

"If I should now forget,
Or not remember thee,
Thou (Spenser) mightest a foul rebuke
And shame impute me.
For I to open shew
Did love thee passing well;
And thou were he at parture whom
I loathed to bid farewell."

One of his poems, "The greene that you did wish mee to weare," is quite deservedly well known because of its abundance of beauty and spirit.

"The greene that you did wish mee to weare,
Aye for your loove,
And on my helme a braunch to beare
Not to remoove,
Was ever you to have in mind,
Whom Cupid hath my feere assignde.
As I in this have done your will,
And minde to doo;

So I request you to fulfill
my fansie too:
A greene and loving hart to have,
And this is all that I do crave."

The following, quoted from Turbervile's "Lover," is a splendid example of a delightful and delicate use of very short lines, which Googe was never able to accomplish:

"I having never earst
The craft of Cupid tride,
No yet the wylie wanton wayes
Of Ladie Venus spide."

Even the hyper-critic cannot object to Turbervile, for the sixteenth century poet disarms criticism by his humble estimate of his own power. To the reader he says:

"Here have I (gentle reader) according to promise in my Translation, given thee a fewe Sonets, the unripe seeds of my barraine braine, to pleasure and recreate thy wearye mind and troubled hed withal; trusting that thou wylte not loth thy bestowing thy time at vacant houres in persuing the same, waying that for thy solace alone (the bounded dutie which I owed the noble Cowntesse reserved) I undertake this slender toyle, and not for anye pleasure I did myselfe in pending thereof..... If there be anything herein that maye offend thee, refuse it..... Reade the good, and reject the evill."

His "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," contains many beautiful gems of thought which are varied both as to their nature and their color. While the greater number has love for the theme there are other topics also. Anyone who is acquainted with Turbervile will not feel like his

"Man in deepe despaire with hemp in hand,
Went out in haste to end his wretched daises;"

for the following will be his reward:

"And where he thought the gallo tree should stand,
He found a pot of gold."

In the description of the manner in which nature set about to form the body of Ladie Anne, Ladie Countesse Warwicke, there is much charm. Conscientious "Fox that would eat no grapes" because "this yard is none of mine" finds his brother in Aesop's Fables. The Aesop fox, however, would eat no grapes because they were sour. That all things are as they are used, is a bit of interesting philosophy, which shows how things wrought "by Nature's art, or cunning skill, so wisely wrought, could by man be converted, too worser use than Nature thought."

The lyric poet fixes his attention on the emotion contained in his own heart; he tells us what he feels and thinks. His poetry, then, is personal or subjective: it is concerned in their simplest forms, with passion and emotion, and the successful lyric poet is the one who is able to express his inner feelings independent of time or space. The lyric may be sad or happy, subdued or passionate; but the emotion, no matter what it is, must be real and genuine; it must come from the very heart of the poet and not from his lips only. It is in Turbervile that we find this sweet sincerity:

"Queen Mary felt a want,
If Pembroke were away
So greatly she assied him,
Whilest she did have the sway.
* * * *
Our noble prince, our peeres,
Both poure and riche may rue,
And each one sorrow Pembroke dead
That earst him living knew."

Of his poetry, Turbervile writes with charming diffidence in the epilogue to his "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," where he describes himself as paddling along the banks of the stream of Helicon, like a sculler against the tide, for fear of the "mighty hulkes" that ventured out so far. There is a great deal of charm and spirit in the blithe and ballad-like lilt of his

verse. The culture of England in the sixteenth century was the culture of Italy. No one, in those days, who was the least bit cultured, was lacking in a knowledge of the Italian language, and everyone who claimed to be genteel was familiar with the literature of Italy. Turbervile did no small amount of service to literature in his familiarizing the employment of Italian models. He himself shows that he has a wide knowledge of Latin literature and of Greek mythology. His knowledge of Italian was not wanting, and as a pioneer in the use of blank verse, he is remarkable.

Although Turbervile lived in an age when the most learned might, upon the least provocation, be sent to the block, he showed great courage in some of his lines. He concludes his volume with an apology for it :

> " For why, in deede this hastie hatched wurke
> Resembleth much the shapeless lumpe of flesh."

Anyone who will become familiar with Turbervile's " Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," will not " loth the bestowing thy time at vacant houres in persuing the same."

LOUISE A. NELSON

MATTER METHOD AND MORAL EDUCATION

The educative process cannot be defined in terms of a circle. Neither the child nor the curriculum can be made the centre. The original nature of man and the social values inherent in civilization are both involved at every point and throughout every stage of the educative process. The child is not a fixed thing—his original nature is to be reconstructed and developed until it harmonizes with civilized human nature. The curriculum is not a fixed thing to be imposed upon the pupil—the subject-matter has to be selected continually with reference to meeting the needs of the pupil, while at the same time reflecting the higher aims, purposes and interests of civilized humanity. The two foci, child and curriculum, must not represent two distinct and unrelated points, but rather at the same time centres of mutual tension, and also the pivots about which every thing else swings. This conception will enable us to avoid many of the fallacies common to undue concentration of attention upon either the child or the subject-matter.

We are altogether too prone to think of the subject-matter of education wholly in terms of certain bodies of knowledge to be taught to children. But subject-matter originates within the experience of the group, meeting needs that are real to that group. And the values of life that every age and every nation have sought to perpetuate and to pass on to the rising generation, include much more than specific bodies of fact. They include certain skills, habits, virtues and ideals. These are as important for individual and social welfare as geography, arithmetic, grammar and other subjects which we stress so conscientiously. There are habits of personal bearing, of promptness, of neatness, etc., that have definite social value. The virtues of courage, of patience, of perseverance, of regard for the rights of others, of self-reliance, are all things to be inculcated. So it is with such great ideals as religious

toleration and freedom of thought. It would be a crime against posterity to let them die out. They represent fundamental social values of greater importance perhaps than the knowledge of a vocation. Closely related to ideals are attitudes, and sentiments such as sympathy for the needy, the suffering, and the wronged, etc.

There is decided advantage in thinking of these also as belonging in the curriculum of the school, for they are then much more likely to get the attention they deserve. We tend to think of the curriculum too much in terms of examinable results that can be determined by written tests. We need a much more comprehensive conception still—one that will include all classes of values the attainment of which makes better men and women. The ideal is just as truly a part of the subject-matter of education as the facts of arithmetic, and in a given life-situation may meet the need just as truly as in some other situation the knowledge of some fact will be effective. Unless the ideal is considered part of the subject-matter of education, responsibility for its inculcation will sit very lightly upon the staff of the school.

According to the principles of functional psychology we prepare best for the work of life outside of school, by setting up in school those bonds of connection which we want continued when children leave school. This means that the subject-matter of school must be identical and continuous with the subject-matter of life. The curriculum ought to bring the pupil into contact with the world at many vital points. Hence the reason why we cannot waste time and energy on materials and values which no longer perform any useful function. A curriculum has to be built which has large social adult values, appeals to the interests of children, is suited to their growth wants, and at the same time is sufficiently differentiated to meet the needs of pupils of varying levels of ability. The acceptance of this point of view will mean a thorough overhauling of our present school curriculum which has come to be

what it is though the prestige of tradition, scissors and paste imitation, or the *a priori* opinions of some powerful person or persons. Then superstition and dogmatism will give place to research and reason, and first things will be first in the school curriculum.

Method.

The physician's method of treatment of his patient is determined by a diagnosis of the case. So it must be with the teacher and his class. Diagnosis is the first step in method. The word "diagnosis" is derived, we are told, from Greek forms which mean "to know through, or thoroughly." We must know thoroughly the facts of the teaching situation before we can help pupils in their learning processes. If teachers attempted diagnosis as a method they would not be so often lost in dealing with cases of obstinate disobedience or of little children who write 3 and 7 backwards!

Diagnosis implies also judgment, or evaluation of the natural and acquired tendencies and the needs which they are likely to satisfy. Not all impulses are of equal worth. We have also to know what impulses count most at a given stage of life as well as to know which have largest present strength. The eager enthusiasm of the adolescent for all that is new in style and in manners is the reflection of an impulse that leads to the rapid socialization of the individual and his free and easy incorporation into the world of adult interests and activities. Knowing the significance of the impulse we can pardon some of its crudities and excrescences and assist it to develop in right lives!

If all that had to be taught was certain subjects, arithmetic, reading, writing, it would suffice to know what procedure would most efficiently get them into the heads and hands of these ignorant candidates! But if it is true that the purpose of education is the changing of conduct, and if it is true that the school is to concern itself with the whole child then it would seem that the problem of method is deserving of

some more thought. Hitherto, appraisal of the effect of class room procedure has generally been concerned with only a part of what usually takes place. "Has the child learnt addition ?" The annual or periodical examination answers the question. But what of the total effect upon the child of this class-room procedure through which he is supposed to learn addition? During that time the child was forming attitudes, with relation to addition, arithmetic, teacher, school, himself and so on. He was learning several things besides addition. His character was being built by his action and reaction with his environment. "Well, if all arithmetic is of this type, I do not mind learning it ;" "I never thought arithmetic could be as bad as this ;" "No more arithmetic for me," are expressive of what is more than can be measured by the usual examination. In fact so impossible is it not to be forming likes and dislikes that it could be safe to say that the reader is even now forming attitudes as to whether to go on in the same old way, or to venture on a definite departure !

The fact is that there are concomitant learnings as well as primary learnings. The latter are those that have to do directly with the subject in hand—addition, sewing, gardening, etc.,—and the former with the judgment of the worth of the work being carried on. Concomitant learning is a by-product of school activity. In the school-room procedure the pupils are actually engaged in making multiple responses to the multiple stimuli of their environment. Willy-nilly, some habits are being developed, some attitudes are being strengthened, and some appreciation of the good and beautiful, or satisfaction with falsehood and evasion is being provided.

What sort of a person, a boy will be is determined by the attitudes, habits and appreciations which are being built up through the Method—in this larger sense—adopted by the school. This new recognition that while a particular subject is learnt certain other learnings are going on, more than doubles the possibilities and responsibilities of the teacher and the school.

Moral education.

This way of looking at every day instruction in school will provide a more natural approach to the problem of moral education. It avoids the artificial and unreal air with which it is usually surrounded. Often the boresome lectures and classes in moral and religious instruction are evidence of failure in the other more natural means. No one can be employed as a teacher or head-master in a school and not be a teacher of moral and social conduct. At that impressionable period in the pupil's life lessons in character can be taught in innumerable ways not provided for in the school time-table. Whatever the teacher does in and for the class is having an effect, for good or for bad, upon the pupils. Further, moral instruction which tells people merely "how to live" is not so desirable as opportunities for ethical living and experience in real life situations. In view of the emphasis laid on examinations and examinable matters, healthy habits and attitudes are crowded out, and only measurable results are attended to and cultivated. Undesirable concomitants are therefore easily built up both in the pupil and the teacher.

Among the means for developing character may be suggested the wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, the social contacts of pupils with one another, and with their teachers, the opportunities afforded by the organisation and administration of the school for the development on the part of the pupils of a sense of personal responsibility and initiative, and above all, the spirit of service and the principles of true democracy which should permeate the entire school head-master, teachers and pupils. Activities and projects needing co-operative solution, and the Socialized Recitation, whereby the class as a whole develops a sense of collective responsibility, are invaluable as means for developing desirable attitudes. The value of supervised games cannot be overestimated.

No attempt has been made here to deal with any single aspect exhaustively or to present a comprehensive survey of the

changing conceptions in education. Only a few important tendencies have been described to illustrate the new approach to the age-old problems of the function of the school, the aim of education, the curriculum, method and moral education. Progress along these and other lines is bound to be slow until research and experimentation are encouraged and Education is placed and studied on the same professional basis as are Medicine and Engineering. Quackery in the field of the instruction of youth should be no more tolerated than in the field of medicine! A Bureau of Research which will go into the special and detailed study of problems mentioned here, and others, such as Texts-books, Physical Education, Sex Education, is an urgent necessity if we are to discontinue a parasitic educational existence and begin to make contributions of our own. Special training with adequate facilities must be provided for head-masters, Inspectors and Research workers, as well as teachers. The course given in our Teacher-training institutions needs to be supplemented with special courses for others who are also engaged in educational work. This is one of the implications of the functional study of Education. Mere experience cannot be depended upon to provide improved technique. This is the day of specialization. And school men dare not remain any longer out-of-date.

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LAYTON REPORT, II

V

The foregoing analysis will show that while the revenue that the Central Government will require for performing its limited functions is comparatively stationary and would actually fall, the more substantial and elastic heads of revenue are assigned to it ; and on the contrary while the provincial governments are entrusted with functions that would require ever-increasing expenditure the resources that are given to them are highly inelastic. It would therefore appear that a little reshuffling is the simple and obvious remedy. But an examination of the specific instances will show that the most fruitful sources of revenue are those which can best be regulated and collected by a central agency, which will levy them on a uniform basis. For instance it is imperative that in the interest of trade and commerce customs duty throughout India should be uniform. It is however a more debatable question whether income-tax should be uniform or vary from province to province. In any case the Central Government cannot afford to lose the entire income derived under this head. If therefore the more fruitful sources of provincial income can best be collected and controlled by a central agency, how can we possibly manage to finance the provincial governments, with their ever-increasing needs ! Is a scheme of financial clean-cut an unrealisable and impractical ideal? Are we to return back again to the old system of divided heads and is provincial autonomy a vanishing dream?

In finding an answer to these questions, we must, first of all, get rid of the fetish of " divided heads." True, the system as it existed in the past crippled the independence of the provinces and in the interest of provincial autonomy, abolition of the system of " divided heads " was called for. But at the same time it would be fatal to ignore that there is nothing

inherently unsound in the system itself; and it is possible to dev a scheme of ' divided heads ' that will not injure the autonomy of the provinces. Indeed the scheme as adumbrated by Mr. Layton while adopting the system of " divided heads " has at the same time maintained the autonomy of the provinces. He has, it may be said, thus laid the foundation of a true federal finance which is applicable to the peculiar circumstances of India.

Granted then that the system of " divided heads " will continue, we have yet to find some automatic tests according to which the centrally collected taxes are to be distributed among the various provinces. The system of grants-in-aid, and still less the system of doles—according to which the Central Government or any other external authority would distribute the centrally collected taxes among the various provinces, according to some principle of estimated needs, is contrary to the genius of provincial autonomy, for this simple reason that the requirements of the provinces would be examined and determined by the centre or any other external authority. If the scheme of " divided heads " is not to prove to be a veritable nuisance to the provinces, as in the past it proved to be, some principle must be determined beforehand,—and this principle must be embodied in a statute, not easily alterable—according to which the proceeds will be automatically distributed, independently of the Central Government or any other external authority. And further these principles must also satisfy the sense of fairness. Mr. Layton lays down two such principles in his report :—

(1) Distribution according to population.
(2) Distribution according to origin.

The first is based on the principle of needs. No doubt it is a very sound principle, but Mr. Layton recognises its limitations.

For in the first place a province that feels that part of its taxation is used not for its own benefit but for the benefit of its neighbour is likely to resist the imposition of this tax. And conversely a provincial government which receives revenue which

it has not had the trouble of collecting or the unpopularity of imposing upon its own subjects, is apt to be less careful of expenditure and watchful against extravagance.

Secondly a rapidly developing province naturally feels that it should benefit from its own enterprise, initiative, economic development and from the enlargement of its own tax-producing capacity. Or in other words it must receive some benefit from an increase of revenue which arises within it. The final scheme therefore, according to Mr. Layton, should be based in part upon distribution according to origin and in part upon distribution according to population.

Mr. Layton therefore divides the revenues of India into four classes :—

(1) Revenue collected and spent by the centre.

(2) Revenue collected and spent by the provinces.

(3) Revenue collected by the centre and distributed to the provinces, according to the principle of origin.

(4) Revenue collected by the centre and distributed to the provinces, according to the principle of population.

The first head will contain the following items of revenue :—

(1) Customs.

(2) Income and super-taxes, less half the personal income-tax assigned to the provinces.

(3) Commercial stamps.

(4) Railway profits.

(5) Profits from other Central services.

If in future there arises any surplus in the Central budget it is recommended that a definite portion of the customs duty should be given to provinces according to the fourth principle. But under no circumstances would the Centre be authorised to divert any provincial tax for its own purpose.

The second head will contain the following items :—

(*i*) All the existing provincial sources of revenue.

(*ii*) Terminal taxes.

(*iii*) Sur-taxes on personal incomes chargeable to income-tax.

In the case of (*ii*) and (*iii*), maxima and minima will be laid down by the centre on the ground that excessive difference between neighbouring provinces would have harmful reactions on inter-provincial trade and the domicile of business.

Under the third group would fall the following heads :—

(1) 50 per cent of the yield of personal income-tax.
(2) Whole of income-tax on agricultural income.

Under fourth group will fall :—

(1) General excise including salt-tax.
(2) A portion of the customs duty if and when possible.

From a perusal of the way in which, according to Mr. Layton, more taxes can be raised to finance the ever-increasing needs of the provinces, we find that while some of them are fiscally sound others are open to serious objections. His recommendation to tax the agricultural income is welcome to all progressivists, who were complaining that one of the most fruitful sources of taxation had hitherto been left untapped. The exemption of agricultural income from taxation cannot be defended on any ground whatsoever, and Bengal in particular is thankful to Mr. Layton for recommending this abolition and giving us an opportunity to correct the inequity done to us by the Permanent Settlement. It is clear as daylight that the finance of Bengal will considerably improve, if some share of the unearned increment, that has been up to now absorbed hundred per cent. by the landlords, can be appropriated by the province for nation-building purposes. Moreover their recommendation to allow the provinces not merely half the share of the personal income-tax collected in the respective provinces but also a surcharge on personal income are undoubtedly a welcome innovation. For in order that the popular ministers may have sufficient scope for launching ambitious schemes of nation-building, they must be given not merely substantial sources of revenue but also sources that are

sufficiently elastic. The province must be permitted to levy a sur-tax on personal income not merely with the object of making its taxing system equitable on the whole but also with the object of raising more revenue and it is submitted that the maxima and minima rates should not be too narrowly determined. It is further submitted that in future when the finances of the central government will improve, instead of assigning to the provinces a share of customs duty, it would be better to give them whole of the proceeds of personal income-tax.

But the chief defect of Layton's recommendations lies in the fact, that a considerable part of the new taxes that he proposes to levy are indirect taxes. Thus according to his scheme various excise duties, and terminal taxes would contribute a very substantial quota for the financing of the provinces. The most general argument against it is that it is digressive in its incidence, falling more heavily on the poor than on the rich. The principle of equity in taxation demands that each of us should contribute to the public exchequer according to our respective ability and this leads to the principle of progression in taxation. It is to this ideal that every taxing system should aim and it is with this end in view that introduction of indirect taxes should be opposed. Already the poor and middle classes are paying a good deal of taxes in the shape of customs duty on all imported commodities of everyday use—such as cloth, kerosine, matches, etc., and excise duty on many other commodities, and it would be great hardship to tax them still further in the shape of terminal taxes and national excises.

In this connexion we may note that the lowering of the taxable limit from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000 would be a serious hardship to the lower middle classes specially in a country like ours where no exemptions are allowed. People with that income constitute the poor "bhadralok" class who are the worst sufferers in the present economic condition of the country. They have a higher standard of living, their boys must be taught in the schools and colleges and the earning capacity of these

boys does not reach until a very late age. Over and above, these people are, more often than not, encumbered with poor relations. Moreover it should not be forgotten that they pay a good deal of indirect taxes. From all these considerations, it would appear that the proper course would be to raise instead of lowering the taxable minima, and compensating the loss, thus suffered, by steepening the tax rate on higher grades of income.

But the most serious objection must be taken against the imposition of the terminal taxes. It is the modern form of the old "Octroi" which was universally condemned as the greatest impediment to trade and commerce by constituting an internal customs barrier, as it were. The defects of terminal taxes were very early recognised and when some municipalities in Upper India levied this tax for municipal purposes, the Government of India expressed its disapproval of it. In one of its resolutions in 1915, the Government of India scathingly criticised this tax and advised the municipalities to substitute it by some other tax, preferably direct. Moreover at the present time this tax is almost the sheet anchor to municipal finance in some parts of Upper India. If this source of revenue is taken away from the municipalities and given to the provinces, in what way can the municipalities be compensated against the loss suffered thereby? The last defect of the terminal tax is that equally with other indirect taxes, it is degressive in its incidence falling more heavily on the poor than on the rich.

In this connexion, we may remark, that Mr. Layton failed to recognise the justice of the claim of the Government of Bengal for a substantial, if not the whole, share of the export duty on jute. Indeed there cannot be any objection—either theoretical or practical—for assigning this revenue to the province. Provincialising the customs duty is objected on the ground that it would hinder interprovincial trade, but no question of interprovincial barriers arises in assigning the export duty on jute to the producing province. The two objections generally urged against it are :

(I) Firstly that it should naturally be under the control of Centre.

(II) That the burden of duty does not fall on the people of the producing province.

The first objection may be met by providing that the duty will continue to be centrally administered but the whole or a specified portion of it will be allotted to the province.

As regards the second objection it may be replied in the words of the Taxation Enquiry Committee "that there exists a possibility, that in certain conditions of the trade a portion of the duty falls on the producer." But even assuming for arguments' sake that the burden does not fall on the producers, there is no reason why other provinces should object to Bengal's appropriating a share of it. The burden of the tax does not fall on the other provinces either, and if a province with a natural advantage wants to profit by it at the expense of foreign consumers, in equity no other province has any right to complain. Moreover jute is a provincial subject and its development and improvement is a provincial charge. Added to this its production affects the sanitation of the province and the province has to incur expenditure to neutralise its evil effects. The claim of Bengal then to a share of the export duty on jute is absolutely unchallengeable.

But when all is said that can be said against these detailed recommendations which can very well be modified without altering the broad framework, it must be admitted that the scheme of finance laid down by Mr. Layton is in its essentials the only feasible scheme that a federal India can, with profit, adopt, because no other scheme can possibly secure the benefit, of central control and collection on the one hand and provincial autonomy on the other.

VI

Let us now see whether under the new scheme sufficient scope is given to any nationalist party pledged to an ambitious

scheme of nation-building? Can the new scheme, as adumbrated by Mr. Layton, enable a popular minister who aspires to raise the education, sanitation and the general standard of living of the people of Bengal to the recognised civilised standard, to effectively carry out his policy ? Will the said minister be in as helpless and pitiable a condition as the ministers under the existing constitution, who at all times lament that though they have a very good programme ready in the pocket, the same cannot be executed for want of fund? Or in other words, does the new scheme allow the ministers to raise the requisite taxes, by assigning him some elastic and substantial sources of revenue? It was pointed out previously, that it was because the Moutagu-Chelmsford constitution tied the hands of the popular ministers by denying them any substantial and elastic sources of revenue, that the existing constitution became thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people. In order therefore the new scheme may succeed, one thing that is absolutely essential is that the ministers in the provinces must have sufficient financial latitude.

In the first place a popular party in order to create confidence in the people must provide that at most within a decade primary education of a sufficiently high quality will become compulsory and free. The problem of raising the standard of secondary education is the next thing that a popular minister must adequately tackle. These two reforms are not merely desirable for their own sake, but it is submitted, that they will greatly increase the economic efficiency of the citizens as a productive unit, thereby greatly increasing the national wealth. It is only when primary education is diffused throughout the masses and a considerable number of the boys of school-going age have received education up to the secondary standard, that we can aspire to modernise and industrialise Bengal, wherein, it is submitted, our economic salvation lies. So long as we do not get rid of the medieval methods in agricultural and manufacturing industries, Bengal must, on compulsion, be content to be

the exploiting field of more enterprising nations. But in order that people at large may accept and work the modern system of production, they must have the necessary intellectual equipment. This is hardly possible to realise until people are educated up to a certain point. As an indispensable requisite of national progress, therefore, these educational reforms are urgently called for.

In the next place it is incumbent on any popular minister to prevent the huge human waste that is going on year after year. To prevent people dying in thousands from preventable diseases a great improvement in the national sanitary services is required. The job is itself Herculean involving a great improvement in sanitary conditions, and requiring a properly staffed sanitary organisation throughout the length and breadth of the province. It is obvious that it will greatly improve the quality and quantity of human factors of production—which in its turn will greatly increase national wealth. In considering the problem of Bengal's sanitation we are inevitably drawn to Bengal's irrigation system. It is held by many high authorities, that many rural diseases, speically malaria, are directly attributable to the unsatisfactory irrigational system of the province. No sanitary improvement is therefore possible unless a well devised irrigational scheme is launched, which will at once improve the health and wealth of the province. The duty of a nationalist Government therefore would be to immediately appoint a committee of experts, which will be in charge of framing such a scheme aud the nationalist Government should not flinch from incurring the necessary capital outlay (which if large will be raised by borrowing) and incurring recurring expenditure which will be met from the annual revenues. This expenditure is all the more worth while because it will not only improve sanitation but by improving agriculture considerably enhance national prosperity.

There are many other problems which a national Government will in the course of the next few years be called upon to

tackle. But the reason why they are not set out in detail is that the important problems stated above are so difficult and comprehensive at present as to absorb the whole energy and resource of the Government for some years to come. The Government will find it difficult to turn its attention to any other scheme for the present.

It is clear that the national programme as above stated would involve an increase of expenditure to at least 5 crores annually. How are we to get the same? In what manner will the Government raise the extra expenditure? In what way additional taxes be distributed among the various heads of revenue and among the various classes? This in other words raises the question of ways and means.

In the first place primary education will be financed partly by an education cess and partly by grants from the provincial exchequer. An education cess of 5 pice a rupee, divided equally between the land-lord and the tenants, will raise a crore and a quarter. We recognise that this cess will undoubtedly be regarded by the poor agriculturist as a great hardship, and it would have been much better if some other way could be found to finance this scheme of compulsory primary education. But at the same time, we must realise as a political realist, that it is not possible for the Government with its existing financial resources, to contribute to the whole cost of primary education. So if primary education is to be universalised, the ryots must be prepared to bear along with the Zemindars, the major share of the cost. A grant of a further crore from the provincial exchequer will meet the need of primary education for the present. It is suggested that by a system of civil conscription every educated man may be compelled to devote one or two years of his life for national work at a small allowance. It is only by this method that a poor country can secure the performance of its essential services at a cheap cost. All the other services, *viz.*, secondary education and sanitation will be financed wholly by the provincial exchequer.

How are we then to get the additional four crores we need. In the first place according to Mr. Layton's scheme the salt

proceed will be distributed among the provinces on population basis. If the salt duty remained as before Bengal will get a crore of it. In the second place, half share of the personal income-tax, collected from the province will be given to Bengal. Personal income-tax, collected in Bengal exceeds a crore of rupees. Half of it, that is, at least 50 lacs, Bengal will get. There still remains a big gap to be filled, to the extent of two crores and a half. This will have to be raised by means of surtaxes on personal incomes, death duties as well as by taxing the agricultural income, for we are definitely of opinion that no terminal or other indirect taxes are to be levied, so long as it is possible to raise money by direct means. The poor and the lower middle classes, as we have already noted, are already over-taxed, whereas the well-to-do has much greater taxable capacity. The higher grades of income are so lightly taxed at present, that in order to make the taxing system of the province equitable, a progressively increasing rate of income-tax should be levied on higher grades of income.

The present rate of income-tax is as follows :—

(1) Income Less than Rs. 2,000	No tax.
(2) Income from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000	5 p. in the rupee
(3) Income from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000	6 p. ,, ,,
(4) Income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000	9 p. ,, ,,
(5) Income from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000	12 p. ,, ,,
(6) Income from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 40,000	15 p. ,, ,,
(7) Income from Rs. 40,000 ... upward	18 p. ,, ,,

It is submitted that the tax rates of comparatively higher grades of income are comparatively low, and it can be very well raised. It is suggested that the following sur-taxes may well be believed by the province of Bengal :—

Income.	Sur-tax.	Income-tax.	Total inc.-tax.
Less than Rs. 2,000 ...	*Nil*	... *Nil*	... *Nil*
From Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000	*Nil*	... 5 p.	... 5 p.
From ,, 5,000 to ,, 10,000	3 p.	... 6 p.	... 9 p.
From ,, 10,000 to ,, 20,000	6 p.	... 9 p.	... 15 p.
From ,, 20,000 to ,, 30,000	9 p.	... 12 p.	... 21 p.
From ,, 30,000 to ,, 40,000	12 p.	... 15 p.	... 27 p.
From ,, 40,000 to ,, 50,000	15 p.	... 18 p.	... 33 p.

At first sight it may appear that the sur-taxes are preposterously high, but if we compare the rates of income-tax in the case of some higher grades of income in the other countries we will find the rates herein suggested comparatively low. It may be argued that this will result in such a wide divergence in the tax rate between two neighbouring provinces that it would harmfully affect the place of domicile of many Bengalees. It may be contended that if the income-tax rate be comparatively small in other parts of India, Behar and Orissa say, many of the Bengalees will transfer their domicile to Behar and Orissa, rather than pay the high rate of income-tax. This possibility however should not be exaggerated. In the first place, Bengal is greatly advanced industrially, and as such affords the greatest opportunity to enterprising people to make their fortune. It is highly improbable that those people will transfer their domicile simply in order to avoid paying a high rate of income-tax. For with equal plausibility it may be argued that because the cost of living in a big town like Calcutta is much higher than in a small village, Calcutta is always threatened with depopulation. But people do not leave Calcutta to secure the cheap cost of living in the village for the simple reason that it is Calcutta that gives him scope to earn a decent living. In the second place we may rest assured that all other provinces will levy a sur-tax on income; and even if their rate be somewhat lower than one recommended for Bengal, the divergence will not be so great as to affect seriously the place of domicile of a large number of Bengalees. It is hoped that more than 50 lacs of rupees can be collected by this means.

Next we come to agricultural income, which hitherto was absolutely exempted from taxation. It has been estimated that at least a sum of 12 crores of rupees is intercepted by landlords and other intermediaries in the province of Bengal. It was however contended by Sir P. C. Mitter before the Taxation Enquiry Committee that this is apportioned among at least 35 lacs of intermediaries. From this Sir Provash contended that the average income of a Bengal Zemindar does not exceed Rs. 28.

Arguments like this based on averages are thoroughly misleadings for, as it has been rightly contended by Professor Neogi, that with equal plausibility it may be argued that since the average income of an Indian is only Rs. 80 or so, Indians as a class are too poor to pay any tax at all. What is material in calculating the taxable capacity of a people is not their average income but the distribution of that income among the various social strata. The amount of tax, that can be gathered under this head, therefore depends on the manner of its distribution; and as this distribution is not definitely known, no clear idea as to the amount of the tax that can be raised on agricultural income can possibly be made. But it may be assumed that at least a sum of 50 lacs can be gathered under this head. Next we come to death duties. This is one of the most substantial sources for the province to tap. If Bengal can manage to induce the Federal Assembly to pass a death duty on the model of Great Britain fixing the rate at a progressively high rate, a substantial yield can be expected from this head. But the opposition such a scheme would receive from the propertied class is expected to be very stiff indeed and it will take a good long time to educate public opinion in its favour. In any case it is not prudent to expect more than Rs. 50 lacs under this head. There still remains a gap of a crore of rupees, and no further local taxes can possibly be raised. Unless therefore Bengal is allowed a share in the export duty on jute, or unless Bengal is allowed to appropriate the whole of the personal incomer tax, or a substantial portion of the super-tax, the nationalist party with an ambitious scheme will feel seriously handicapped. It is therefore imperative in the interest of Bengal's finance, that while keeping intact the broad framework of federal finance that Mr. Layton has recommended for adoption, some modification in the allocation of the heads of revenue needs must be made between the centre and the provinces, so that we may in the course of a decade may have scope to convert this God forsaken province of ours, into a place worth living in.

PROKASCHANDRA MALLIK

MUIOPOTMOS

After one has read " Muiopotmos," he is justified in saying that Spenser is a most poetical entomologist. The poem is indicative of its subject, for it relates the adventures and the fate of that particular butterfly. According to the story, Clarion, the son of Muscaroll, was the fairest butterfly that ever basked in the warm rays of the sun.

> " Of all the race of silver winged flies
> Which doo possesse the Empire of the aire,
> Betwixt the centred earth and azure skies,
> Was none more favourable, nor more faire,
> Whilst heaven did favour his felicities,
> Then Clarion, the eldest sonne and haire
> Of Muscaroll; and in his father's sight
> Of all alive did seeme the fairest wight."

Young Clarion, who desired to roam through his father's territory, left one bright day in search for pleasure. For this occasion, he dressed himself up in highly polished armor.

> " His breastplate first, that was of substance pure,
> Before his noble heart he firmly bound,
> That mought his life from yron death assure,
> And ward his gentle corpes from cruell wound;
> For it by arte was framed to endure
> The bit of balefull steele and bitter stownd,
> No lesse than that which Vulcane made to shield
> Achilles life from fate of Trojan field."

About his shoulders he placed the hide of a wild beast he had killed, and on his head he wore a shining helmet. The two main weapons of this warrior extended far in front on each side; they were like two sharp spears; and his scintillating wings were prismatic.

The poem then relates the origin of the exquisite beauty of the wings of thebutterfly tribe Briefly it is as follows: One

day in early spring, Venus went out walking with her nymphs. She asked them to gather for her all the flowers they could find so that she could decorate her forehead with them. Astery, who was quicker than the other maidens, picked a larger and prettier bunch; and, because of this, she came into the good graces of Venus, the Goddess of Beauty. As this made the other nymphs jealous, they declared that Cupid had picked some of Astery's flowers for her. Venus believed what the maidens told her instead of first finding out whether it was true or not; and, in a sudden fit of jealousy, she transformed the sweet and gentle little Astery into a butterfly.

> "And all those flowres, with which so plenteouslie
> Her lap she filled had, that bred her spight,
> She placed in her wings, for memorie
> Of her pretended crime, though crime none were:
> Since which that flie them in her wings doth beare."

Ever since this metamorphosis of the innocent little Astery, the tribe of "Butterflie" has been noted for its exquisitely beautiful flower-painted wings.

The poem now takes us back to Clarion who had already begun his trip over the fields. He flew over the woods, rivers, mountains, and meadows. Finally, he discovered a bed of flowers where he stopped to taste of every blossom; then he sunned himself in order to dry his moist wings.

> "What more felicitie can fall to creature
> Then to enjoy delight with libertie,
> And to be Lord of all the works of Nature,
> To raine in th' aire from th' earth to highest skie,
> To feed on flowers and weeds of glorious feature,
> To take whatever thing doth please the eie?
> Who rests not pleased with such happiness,
> Well worthy he taste of wretchednes."

But, like a sudden storm in summer, Clarion's happiness was turned into sadness. An ugly, poisonous spider with a body

puffed out with rankling poison, was hiding among the flowers waiting to get the unsuspecting hero into his clutches, for he was very jealous of Clarion's happiness and was, therefore, all the more determined to poison him. Aragnoll, the name of the spider, is a patronymic word, and, in the lexicon of the fairies, means "the son of Arachne."

The poem next relates why spiders have such hatred for butterflies. At one time Arachne was considered to be the most skilful woman with the embroidery needle among all the women of the earth; she was very confident of her powers and, one day, she challenged Pallas, the Goddess of Wisdom and Skill. Pallas, of course, accepted the challenge. Each one made a piece of embroidery which represented some famous event in history. Arachne's embroidery represented the story of Jupiter who was pictured as a bull carrying off Europa: it was so extremely beautiful, realistic, and faultless that even Pallas and Envy herself could say nothing against it. Now Pallas tried her skill. Her embroidery represented the debates of the Gods respecting the fate of Athens. This piece of embroidery was also flawless, but yet not so perfect as to decide the close contest. Finally, in one part of the scene, Pallas embroidered among the leaves of an olive tree which she had introduced into the scene, a most beautiful butterfly, which one could easily mistake for a real one. Arachne felt conquered as she watched Pallas finish this perfect detail. She gazed at the exquisite workmanship a long time. As she stared like a poor bird that has come under the wicked influence of a repulsive snake, her beautiful body was changed into a bag of venom: her white legs became crooked, crawling shanks, and her beautiful face became foul and loathsome. This now cursed creature remembered that old festered grudge which his mother felt, and, because his heart swelled with revengeful malice when he spied Clarion, the harmless butterfly, he immediately began to weave a very tangled web in order securely to bind down the little butterfly. The web was so fine that the meshes could scarcely be seen. As the butterfly

flitted from flower to flower, he was caught by the malicious spider. The more Clarion struggled, the more he became entangled. The ugly, hairy tyrant who lay in wait like a cat that watches for a mouse rushed forth from his den, and, with full force, he stuck his poisonous fangs into the butterfly's heart. Thus we have "Muiopotmos, or the Fate of the Butterfly."

The entire conception of this poem is essentially beautiful, and the rhythm is as smooth and as graceful as was the butterfly himself as he flitted about on that summer morning. James Russell Lowell has said, in speaking of this poem: "He (Spenser) first shows his mature hand in the Muiopotmos, the most airily fanciful of his poems, a marvel for delicate conception and treatment, whose breezy verse seems to float between a blue sky and golden earth in imperishable sunshine. No other English poet has found the variety and compass which enlivened the octave stanza under his sensitive touch."[1]

The poem is more than just an interesting fairy story, however. Palgrave says, "Muiopotmos has long been a puzzle to the readers of Spenser. A poem of fantastic beauty, built upon a trifle as a subject, a light and fanciful story of over four hundred lines with no apparent lesson or moral, Muiopotmos is altogether so unlike our sage and serious Spenser that critics have been baffled in their efforts to account for it." The poem probably was composed in the year 1590, as can be seen in the title page. It is known that in that year, the mind of Spenser was on the life of the court. "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," which contains the impressions that the poet received through his Court experiences was written in 1591, as can be seen by his dedicatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. Spenser's visit to the court in 1589-1590 with Sir Walter Raleigh, would increase the poet's tendency to use contemporary material in allegory. In the very first lines of the poem, we

[1] Prose Works, Riverside Edition, Volume I, page 310.

read about a "dolorous debate" between "two mightie ones of great estate, Drawne into armes." These "two mightie ones" have been led by their ambition and hatred from "small jars" to such a state that one could no longer stand the hatred of the other—and finally both are "drawne into armes." Spenser next asks the tragic muse why Clarion, or one of the "two of great estate," came "to lowest wretchedness." At the end of the second stanza we read.

> "And is there Such rancour in the harts of mightie men?"

Who were the "two of great estate?" Who was Clarion? What was the "deadly dolorous debate" about?

During the summer of 1589, a short time before the writing of this poem, Spenser came from his residence in Ireland to London with Sir Walter Raleigh. "Colin Clout's Come Home Again was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, and the dedication is dated at Kilcolman Castle, Ireland, December 27, 1591. The occasion for this poem is thoroughly explained by the contents. After Spenser had spent some time in London attending to the publication of his poems, he returned to his adopted home in Ireland and wrote this poem in commemoration of his journey and of the reception which he had met with at court. In the year 1587, however, hostilities, which had begun between Sir Walter and the Earl of Essex, were renewed on their return to court after the expedition to Portugal, and culminated in December, 1588, in Essex's challenging Sir Walter to a duel, which the Council prevented and kept secret from the Queen. The first stanza of Muiopotmos might well picture the relations of these two men at that time:

> "I sing of deadly dolorous debate,
> Stir'd up through wrathfull Nemesis despight,
> Betwixt two mightie ones of great estate,
> Drawne into armes, and proofe of mortall fight,
> Through prowd ambition and hart-swelling hate.

Whilest neither could the others greater might
And sdeignfull scorne endure ; than from small jarre
Their wraths at length broke into open warre. "

Then Raleigh, who was practically driven from the court by Essex, went to Ireland. Spenser, of course, was anxious to know the reason for Sir Walter's distress. The reason may, perhaps, be found in the poem where Clarion is caught in the web of Aragnoll. We find Sir Walter Raleigh, like the young Clarion, very early in life arming himself for adventure. We know that Raleigh was not satisfied to finish his career at Oxford but he left college and set out on campaigns in France when he was scarcely seventeen. In 1580 he was commissioned as a captain of a hundred foot soldiers to go against the insurgents at Munster. He was happy in this Irish service, for a time at least, but only for a time. He was sent home in December 1581, and, at that time, he visited the court. Whether it was because he threw his velvet coat into the mud so that the Queen could walk over it that brought him into her good graces, it is hard to tell, but it is known that he was chosen to be her own servant. "To the gay gardens his unstaid desire" took him and there he became filled with the "vertues, good or ill that grew in this garden" until he, too, was entangled in the web which Envy had woven for him. Raleigh's charm and intelligence helped to put him in the Queen's favor over against Leicester and Hatton, her previous favourites. Raleigh had more influence with her than his intriguing predecessors. Even though his early activities were not definitely honoured by official position, for some time he held early in 1582, an enviable position in the Queen's favour. He had the honour, also, of advising Burghley and of having his advice recorded by the Lord Treasurer. In 1584 he was knighted. In 1585 he became Warden of the Stannaries, and was later appointed to the Lieutenancy of Cornwall and the Vice-Admiralty of the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire. In 1586 he was appointed Captain

of the Yeomen of the Guard, an office which Hatton held for several years. These offices brought him no money, even if they did give him much honour; but in the year 1586 he received the Irish Grant with its 12,000 acres and other shares and privileges. In 1587 he obtained lands in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Notts. In his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," Stebbing says, "Five years separated the needy Munster captain from the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, the magnificent Captain of the Queen's Guard, the owner of broad lands in England and Irish seignories. He had climbed high, though not so high as the insignificant Hatton. He had progressed fast though another was soon to beat him in swiftness of advancement. He had gathered wealth and power. He was profuse in the application of both. Much of his gains went in ostentation. He was fond of exquisite armour, gorgeous raiment, lace, embroideries, furs, diamonds, and great pearls." There seems to be a parallel to this in the opening stanzas of Muiopotmos where Clarion meets his entanglement in Aranoll's web. Stebbing further says, in speaking of Raleigh, "His unusual wit, charming personality, and great energy probably made him the best hated man of the world—in Court, city, and country," and entangled him in that ugly web from which he tried to untangle himself for the last thirty years of his life. Even though Raleigh was very frank himself, he was annoyed by others who were constantly plotting against him. Others were jealous, too, because the Queen kept Raleigh at cards, or one game or another the whole night, and because "he cometh not to his lodgings till birds sing in the morning." Things went from bad to worse. Essex could not hide his hatred for Raleigh and, in December, 1588, he challenged Raleigh to a duel for some very trivial grievance. But these two could not be reconciled and Raleigh left the court in the spring of 1589 for Ireland where Spenser met him in the following summer. Spenser may be referring to these events in the introductory stanza of Muiopotmos. This poem tells us that the "flie"

is of the royalty and is the "fruitfull hope" of his father that he will one day be worthy of his inheritance. It has been said that the name "Clarion" may indicate the family name "Clare" from which Raleigh was said to have descended. The fourth and fifth stanzas may suggest Raleigh's rovings :

> "Whence downe descending he along would flie
> Upon the streaming rivers, sport to finde;
> And oft would dare to tempt the troublous winde."

As one reads the description of the butterfly's wings with their "thousand colours be jewled like the heavens," one is reminded of Raleigh's passion for exquisite armor. The gay gardens in the poem might suggest the court of Queen Elizabeth.

Spenser always took Chaucer for his guide, and he used antiquated expressions as he found his example in Chaucer. It can easily be seen how Spenser, with his poetic ear, yielded to the poetry of Chaucer. Spenser very rarely invented a new word, but he gave the old words a new twist. There seems to be a similarity, too, between Chaucer's "Sir Thopas" and the "Nun's Priest's Tale." In the "Faerie Queene" (3-7-48) Spenser mentions Sir Thopas's name and he also mentions it in "Present State of Ireland." Then, too, Sir Thopas was very popular in Spenser's day, for Warton tells us (Observations on Faerie Queene, I, p. 73) that the poem was sung to the harp in the age of Queen Elizabeth. When comparing Clarion, the hero in Muiopotmos, to Sir Thopas, one finds the following resemblances :

Both heroes are introduced as young knights whose fathers are lords of the domain, both are described as being fair, both are liked by a particular maiden, both like to stroll along a river, both are dressed in armor, and both leave on a summer's day.

There seems to be a greater similarity between Muiopotmos and the Nun's Priest's Tale. Arganoll is similar to Russel, the

fox. Even though there are more parallel lines found in the Nun's Priest's Tale, there are a number of similarities to be found in Sir Thopas.

LOUISE A. NELSON

ALONG THE CANAL

Last night, wrapt in the mist of incense,
I wandered beneath the trees by the canal
Sweet sound, soft sound of a piano,
Now heard, now unheard, from far away.

Now a banjo touched idly into song,
Alluring, throbbing.
Who can be lonely?
Can I be lonely?
Have I lost the trick of living
My dreams in my inmost being?

JINKICHI MATSUDA

THE '*ASHAR*' CLOUD

(1)

Clouds gather to-day as of old and the night deepens.
I sit looking out into the dark, and the feel of a vague drizzle without makes me restless.
The smell of the wet earth tells of an elder day when men loved and wept and parted,
And my eyes ache with tears without a name.

(2)

Timbrels sound in the skies and the rain is clamorous.
What cosmic stir is this that in the welter of the elements provokes the forgotten Past?
The opening day of *Ashar* is no slice of Time meseems,—
It is the Eternal packed into the finite,
For œons untold gather into it with all their love and pain.
Hence to-night the moans of the lovers that were and are to be, seem upgathered into one quick present—into one live groan of the rainy night;
And my heart throbs darkling.

(3)

Lightnings flash and the Past re-lives.
On the peak of mystery stands even to-day that Ancient Lover, pale and slender—a tall faint ray of light.
His love is in the anguish of fulness and would not brook the bonds of quiet.
With eyes upraised he is scanning the sky for his old friend.
Bounding over the lear of things to night,
Who would carry his message to the end Bening,
Where his eternal Lady lies on the dizzy verge of the infinite dawn?

The Wild Carrier—he would not listen and glides glimmering away.
So tears swell and anguish deepens.
And a voice comes from the cloud land—
"The poet is dead—thy speech is prosy-cold,—it moves me not."
I sit in the dark dimly guessing its meaning.

(4)

The poet is dead indeed! But his verses live.
The slow and slumbrous rhythm dripping with the tears of old is yet the throbbing monody of the lorn—the lyric cry of the hearts that part in pain.
And age-long rhythm this—which we hear in the whizz of the earth at midnight as she rolls longing for her Infinite Maker.
In tunes unheard does the lily sing this song to her Sun-God for ever and for ever.
The sea heaves its bosom to the skies, and in its lingering monotone we hear this pain everlastingly.
The poet is dead indeed—but his verse is here—old yet new,—and true for ever.
But the cloud—it would not listen.
And out of the sky comes a hint—
"The poet has slept;—his accents live are still, and other voice than his—it moves me not."
So thro' ages the Ancient Lover stands and weeps and faints away into the dark.
And the tearful sky wails out—
"The poet sleeps and his voice sleeps with him."

H. BHATTACHARYYA

"LIFE AND LETTERS"[1]

I

INTRODUCTION.

Our theme.

Life is here taken comprehensively, and not very scientifically, to include the totality of what man's consciousness can comprehend or has to deal with. Roughly this totality consists of (1) Man and (2) Nature, as the contents of consciousness.

Now, "Nature" is purely objective, though individuals having different ideas about Nature or attitude to it, may offer us a *subjective* apprehension of the universal outside each ego, and as such treated as the *object*, which individual man, as *subject*, may study and represent, in consequence. The Wordsworthian conception of Nature is a case in point.

But "Man" is both the subject as well as the object. As subject it is the perceiving, feeling, willing, thinking self, intimately in touch with the world of so-called not-self (or non-ego), represented generally as the *external* world. But it perceives itself too or feels and thinks about itself. Thus we have in the last analysis of Man—

(*a*) each Individual Personality ;

(*b*) Groups of such *Persons*—social, political, racial or national; and

(3) Humanity as a whole (more or less an abstraction), which, again, is nothing static but something eternally progressive, enriching its contents by means of myriad types of tribes, races, nations that have historically developed in course

[1] Inaugural Address given on 11th October, 1930, to the Punjab Literary League, Lahore, the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B., in the Chair.

of time and made contributions to the sumtotal of man's consciousness.

All these three being accepted as the object of man's thinking self form the idea of man.

II

Scheme of the Thesis.

The scope of the discourse.

It would, of course, be highly desirable to define, if that were easy, the two terms "life" and "letters," with a view to ensure precision. But cut-and-dried definitions are more dangerous than useful: Scientific ones, I frankly admit, beyond my powers. Yet clarity and accuracy are necessary, though, on the whole a writer or a speaker enjoys in a way a certain advantage, if allowed to leave things undefined and vague. That frees a person from restraint, relevancy and cautious pronouncement. Had I been a platform orator, addressing a nondescript audience of miscellaneous groups, practically chance-gathered in an open-air meeting, the temptation to profit by such a freedom might have been irresistible. Being what I am, where I am, and having before me a select audience, constituted mainly by persons of culture who are bound to be critical, if not hyper-critical, I realise the serious responsibility I have chosen to place on my unworthy self, and, must, at any rate, make an honest attempt, though it may be with little success, to acquit myself properly.

Hence, avoiding scylla and charybdis, I propose to steer along the golden mean between the extremes of an exact scientific definition and absolutely no definition. Let us have a working one—one that is more a comprehensive *descriptive* formula than what logic or science would accept as a definition.

Life.

By life, for the purposes of my discourse, I would *principally* mean that part of man's existence which particularly relates to his psychic existence. This will mainly include man's instincts, impulses, passions, desires,

feelings, emotions, sentiments, thoughts and ideas and volitions. Here are concrete indications of the elements in human existence that will constitute *for me* and *on this occasion*, man's psychological and spiritual, *i.e.*, mental, moral and religious existence. To be still more accurate, I may add that I propose to exclude man's life, estimated purely from biological and physical points of view.

Literature.

By literature I *mainly* mean poetry in general and as much of prose composition as aims at something more than mere statement, mere affirmation or negation; mere description; mere allegation, proof, demonstration, disputation and argument as such; information, either pure and simple or conveyed to others so as to persuade or dissuade, convince, lead to acceptance and rejection, create an atmosphere or a psychological condition in the reader or listener favourable for propaganda; preachment solely for converting one of an opposite view of life into that of the man who employs language for that end (*i.e.*, didacticism).

Let me in this matter try to be a little more clear.

Further narrowing for an approach to definition.

I exclude, for instance, as non-literary, all advertisements, though advertising is to-day both scientific and aesthetic, and fascinatingly irresistible for weak minds, prone to be *impressed* more by a thoroughly trained expert advertiser's craftsmanship than, sometimes, the eloquent appeals of John the Baptist, who for such minds does, indeed, cry in the wilderness! I use purposely the expressions—"impressed," "craftsmanship" and "appeal"; for they associate advertisements *with literature* by their connotations. I, surely, exclude railway time-tables, however attractive they may be made and whatever amount of highly useful information may be packed close in them from cover to cover, which themselves are a delight to the eye, and possibly, a joy, though not for ever, at least for a quarter of a year!

I do not use the word literature, once more, in the sense in which we so familiarly speak of the available *literature* on *Malaria* or *Tuberculosis*.

Here, again, the negative process of elimination cannot claim to be exhaustive. Instances of elimination only are given.

I certainly *include*, however, *diaries*—not like the one I daily keep, or, for the matter of that, kept by a police court Muktar, who in these hard times of keen competition may be constrained to extend to clients the benefit of a year's credit system of payment of fees, made liberally too tempting to litigants, *in statu pauperis*, by being purged of that much-needed but more-maligned interest at the rate of twelve *per centum*, theologically condemned as usury, though commercially acknowledged to be indispensable. Need I mention in this connection Samuel Pepys, whose "Diary" records, with vividness of keen interest equally the too small and the too great, communicating to dry details an immortal vitality, events of the years from 1659 to 1669, and who is legitimately compared with the more literary, but equally garrulous, Boswell, whose art is consummate in retailing small talk about great men, or John Evelyn whose "Journal," continued from 1641 to 1697 (further extended to the year of his death, 1705-6) has saved the good name of the Cavalier, whom Puritans like Milton were too hasty to set down as "invariably a drunken brute"—"the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing houses"? Or the allied, though distinguishable, '*Journal Intime*' of the now famous Geneva Professor of aesthetics and philosophy, Amiel's Diary, kept from 1848 to 1881, which has extorted even from the finished product of Oxford culture, whom Victor Hugo's poetry "left cold," praise, not faint enough to damn, for "powers of great force and value"[1] and "unquestionable sincerity"[1] and "superiority in culture and instruction generally"[1] over the not undogmatic Arnold's favourite, Senancour?

[1] Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism* Second Series.

Other inclusions.

This suggests to one that literature cannot shut out of its province *Reveries*, say of Senancour known as Obermann, of Rousseau, the *Pensées* of Pascal or Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, the Confessions of St. Augustine or of Rousseau, or even the "*dilettante*" [1] or "rococo" [2] Joubert's *Pensées*,[2] and the maxims of La Bruyère, or better still La Rochefoucauld. De Quincey's "Confessions" in this context is a misnomer or for the matter of that those "of a *Thug*." Revelations of the *underworld* have their attraction. Even detective stories have been legitimatized by Sherlock Holmes.

Mysteries, half fiction and half fact in prose, of court life in London or Paris, or histories of the Fudge Family and other tittle-tattle, even if not of the professed Tattler or Spectator, Idler or Rambler, when flavoured for the fastidious palate with humour or even wit, serve as appetizing sauce to solid dishes at the feast of reason and flow of soul and in a sumptuous bill of fare may without any apology be introduced as reasonable side-dishes.

We have also Miscellanies, Epistles, Letters to a son or Tales of a Grandfather, interesting talks of Professors at the Breakfast Table, fascinating observations on Urn Burials or Epidemic Errors and heterodoxies, having their well-assigned niches in the temple of the Sacred Nine.

Literature, as I contend, being almost as all-embracing as life itself, has actually made use of the finished products of other kinds of knowledge as her raw material. Witness, for example, the beautiful way of handling of the apparently unpromising geographical [3] details as material for romance in Homer's Odyssey, of mere details of existence in the life of shepherds and fishermen in the highly poetic *Idylls* of Theocritus, of really intractable materials in Virgil's *Georgics* or Ovid's *Fasti*.

1 Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, Second Series.

2 In the opinion of such an authority as Saintsbury.

3 Wordsworth and the Lake Districts of North England, Hardy and Wessex, Tennyson and Lincolnshire, Cowper and Olney, and Chaucer and Canterbury.

Coming nearer home, I appreciate and enjoy the richest poetry of mere topography in portions of *Raghubansam*, or better still, in that efflorescence of magnificent Kalidas's genius, the *Meghadutam*. The Atomic theory of the philosophers of Greece has furnished materials to Lucretius as much as the Old and the New Testament history to Milton, and, in later days, modern science first to Goethe and now to Robert Bridges. The dichotomy which puts in water-tight compartments science and letters by reference to their so-called antithesis, if not antagonism, utterly fails in the face of the synthesis achieved by higher types of literature which move and have their being in the realms of science and philosophy, bearing testimony to the wisdom of Wordsworth embodied in his grand critical dictum that poetry is the *impassioned expression upon the countenance of science*.

The Miltonic resonant chant of place names or of names of Biblical and classical personages in his poetry is to-day a common theme of school girls. Even a genealogical table if artistically manipulated will, at last, yield a rich literary harvest. Scott has in verse tales and prose romances immortalised places,[1] men and women, by using their names alone, rich in associations and suggestiveness and given a literary flavour to minute architectural details of a baronial castle or of a knight's accoutrement. Leaving, for want of time and space, out of account all camp-followers of literature, I may just mention next those who form, in substance and name, the literary 'Regulars.' In prose the place of honour belongs in our democratic age to fiction and short stories; then come essays, criticism, histories of literature and literary movements, prose comedies, biographies and memoirs.

In poetry we have the renowned varieties—Epic, Drama and Lyric—with their numerous sub-divisions and sub-varieties, which I have no time to even barely enumerate.

[1] Wordsworth and the Lake Districts of North England, Hardy and Wessex, Tennyson and Lincolnshire, Cowper and Olney, and Chaucer and Canterbury.

Summary.

In my humble opinion of man's three principal activities of (1) action, (2) *thought, and (3) feeling, the* pride of place is by right, of whatever in any recognised *literary form* represents man's *emotional* life in its intensity, depth and variety. Then comes what embodies thought, *i.e.*, man's *intellectual* life, as for instance, in the *Rerum Natura* of Lucretius or in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which poetically sums up the whole range of mediaeval culture and civilisation and specially the theology of Aquinas.

We have a rich variety in a rare combination of Dichtung and Wahrheit which commends itself to a Goethe.

Action as such belongs to History proper. Yet Thucydides, Tacitus, Michelet, Carlyle, as the author of the French Revolution, even Macaulay and Green are as much *litterateurs* as historians, not to speak of Plutarch. The Philippics of Demosthenes, the Orations of Cicero (against Antony), the Impeachment of Hastings or the Speeches on American Taxation or Conciliation, the Reflections on the French Revolution, the Speeches of Bright, Parnell, O'Connor, Bradlaugh, Gladstone and Rosebury have their undisputed place.

Theology as an inspiration is responsible for a variety of literary productions among which Sermons, even lay ones, claim complete recognition. The pulpit is occasionally a great rival of the pen.

Controversies, such as the noted *Boyle and Bentley* or Milton's with Morus, or in our day of Bernard Shaw as a sociologist, cannot be excluded from any decent list. Pamphlets possessing the ease and grace, lent to them by able masters, perilously run close to literature and contributions to Magazines like the Edinburgh Review, now defunct, or the London Mercury, Criterion, Adelphi, the Atlantic Monthly, the Hibbert Journal, the Poetry Review, the Forum, etc., that are very much alive to-day, after all, are literature. But I exclude technical things that appear, for instance, in the Mind, Journal of Philosophical Studies, Journal of Ethics, Economics, History and the like.

III

A Word of Explanation.

My real aim in thus attempting to circumscribe *literature* proper, is to emphasize that nothing should enjoy the privilege and honour of being considered as literature which does not, *more or less, enlarge and widen, deepen and intensify, or enhance and heighten man's commonplace and habitual awareness of the universe.* Literature in other words, is that record of man's deeds, thoughts, imaginings, emotions and feelings or even extraordinary aesthetic sensations, which serves to make man become conscious of whatever—external or internal—produces and leaves on him *impressions*, in a *special manner*, by virtue of which particular type of consciousness man's self-realisation is helped, advanced, made thorough, profound and complete.

My object in trying to define Literature.

In this comprehensive view, literature will, with necessary exceptions, embrace even philosophical writings, scientific writings, histories (other than chronicles), provided such writings are more remarkable for the *manner* of presentation than for the matter. This manner is a matter of style ; and, *literary* works on philosophical or scientific themes are distinguished from pure science or pure philosophy (such for example, as mathematics, logic, physics, chemistry, anthropology—to name only a significant few) particularly by means of the *method* of treatment and the *mode* of presentation or interpretation of reality.

A comprehensive view taken.

IV

Form *versus* Matter : Literature an Art.

This mode is primarily a question of " form," and has to do with artistic fashioning. Fashioning, again, and form is subject to artistic technique. Thus

The literary mode.

literature *proper* has to be tested, estimated, valued, judged as an *art production*. It has, no doubt, its body of *matter*; *and the* more substantial or profound or sublime and grand this matter is the greater is the utility of literature for solving the problem of life—that problem of problems with every one of us as to *how we are to live* so that our life may fulfil its end.

The place of Literature in the economy of Life.

The absence of literature will thus signify the absence of culture and civilization. If we imagine a condition of life for humanity in which man enjoying all other advantages of existence is deprived simply of this one thing, if we imagine a community or race otherwise comparatively speaking well developed and advanced, say in all the mechanical contrivances calculated to ensure to it satisfaction of all material needs—the picture that will have to be drawn of man's life in the circumstances, will at best show us man as a fully formed first rate biological animal.

In Browning's highly condensed language—"a finite and finished clod, untroubled by a spark"; this is what man degenerates into if he can bring himself to believe that he has little concern with literature and act up to his conviction.

I am likely to be cheaply disposed of in the present time of ungoverned *furor* in certain classes of highly trained expert minds, exclusively dedicated to what, from the point of view of utilitarian calculation of profit and loss to humanity, is sure to be acknowledged as the only useful intellectual discipline and the only useful kind of knowledge and its profitable pursuit. I refer to the hasty condemnation of what erroneously is described as an over-literary bias in men of culture. But I am confident that while addressing the Intelligentsia of the Punjab I have absolutely no need of setting up a defence of the Humanities.

Why Literature must be essential for Civilised Man.

Man, in *such* a community or new imaginary literature-free commonwealth if any could be conceived, may find life rich in assets, sufficient for self-preservation and race continuity,

that is, sufficient for the satisfaction of his two fundamental and primary instincts. But the first and earliest derivative or secondary instinct, born of these two primitive ones, *viz.*, his well-nigh *native* hankering after the beautiful and the sublime, will get little scope for satisfaction and growth. His *aesthetic sense* will remain stunted. He will have no more of it than the lower animals, specially birds, display, for example, while their males compete with one another at pairing time, as has been elaborately shown by Darwin and of which a fine poetical representation has been given to us by the recently dead poet-laureate, Robert Bridges, in his last work, *The Testament of Beauty* (published in October, 1929).

Let me quote one or two significant passage :—

" Lov'st thou in the blithe hour
of April dawns—nay marvelest thou not—to hear
the ravishing music that the small birdes make
in garden or woodland, rapturously heralding
the break of day ; when the first lark on high hath warn'd
the vigilant robin already of the sun's approach,
and he on slender pipe calleth the nesting tribes
to awake and fill and thrill their myriad-warbling throats
praising life's God, until the blisful revel grow
in wild profusion unfeign'd to such a hymn as man
hath never in temple or grove pour'd to the Lord of heav'n?
Hast thou then thought that all this ravishing music,
that stirreth so thy heart, making thee dream of things
illimitable unsearchable and of heavenly import,
is but a light disturbance of the atoms of air,
whose jostling ripples, gather'd within the ear, are tuned
to resonant scale, *and then by the enthron'd mind received*
on the spiral stairway of her audience chamber
as heralds of high spiritual significance?

Birds are of all animals the nearest to men
for that they take delight in both music and dance,

> and gracefully schooling leisure to enliven life
> wer the earlier artists." [1]

I invite your attention specially to two significant suggestions in the extract—one contained in the portion I have on purpose put in italics and the other in the poet's view that birds, and not, as Evolutionists assert, the anthropoid apes, are the nearest of kin to man. The poet's emphasis is, in other words, on the proud privilege of man, in the scale of the different species along the line of *ascent*, to employ his enthroned mind, which *utilizes sense impressions as heralds of high spiritual significance*. This is denied by Nature to all species below man, even though modern scientific investigations assign to animals powers and functions that go a large way to demolish the barriers formerly set up between animals as such and man viewed as a *rational* animal. And this great privilege is, in this part of his wonderful poem, made by Bridges to consist in man's artistic sense or sense of beauty.

Now, my contention too is that the *literary* man, or better still, man when in his evolution from his primitive savagery he emerges out of the condition which made him no better than his cousin-german, the Ourang or the Chimpanzee, stands for ever distinguished or "*differentiated*" from all other animals, nay even from the *natural* man, by this vital urge in him, implanted by Nature in his very germ-plasm as what Bergson calls the *élan vital*, by his "*conscient*" aesthetic sense. Whereas in birds, let us say with Bridges, this natural sense of beauty, so useful for sexual selection leading to possibilities of better breed, is at best inconscient, that is merely instinctive. This purposive, motivated, self-conscious, aesthetic sense, somewhat better evolved in the higher organism itself,—this sense of harmony and order, of proportion, of due subordination of perplexing and baffling variety to unity, of affiliation of mere otherwise un-co-ordinated and meaningless huge

1 *The Testament of Beauty*, Book I, ll. 63-81 and 106-9. *Italics* mine.

mass of details to what is essential, central and significant ; —this it is what, I want to emphasize, breaks man's homogeneity as an animal with the entire animal world, making it possible for him, by the aid of this his differentiating trait, *specifically human*, to rise higher and higher in the limitless scale of ascent, till eventually he reaches the fruition of life in and through that self-realisation which is only a different name for the realisation of the God in man.

And this *conscient* aesthetic sense urges man to be a creator of beauty instead of resting satisfied with being simply an appreciator of it—as is the case, let us repeat, with the " birds that, of all animals," the poet Bridges tells us, are " the nearest to men."

The *literary* man is a seer and a creator ; he is a thinker as much as a " maker,"—poet, vates, prophet, fashioner, artist, technician, an artistic worker in the medium called language, in words, in verbal symbols of ideas and emotions.

I may stop here just for a moment to draw a conclusion.

Conclusion.

We have seen by now that literature is not simply for humanity an indispensable civilizing factor, a cultural agency. We have seen also that it is an *integral* part and parcel of man's very existence from that remote period of his earliest history when man broke off continuity (*i.e.*, homogeneity) with the rest of the animal kingdom and embarked on his voyage through strange seas of new ideas, thoughts, sentiments, emotions and feelings of which he has kept a record in literature taken in its widest range and most comprehensive sense.

Even primitive man's life is not a life minus literature, though with the primitive man literature is in its germ.

All myths, legends, tribal chants, folk-tales, folk-songs, fairy tales, choral dance songs, songs in honour of wine, of soma juice, ambrosia, or of woman, are *in essence* literature.

Our own Vedic Hymns addressed to Nature forces adored as deities by our ancient poet-sages in their forest homes

carry us back to the world's early literature. Such is the history of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Crete, Israel, China, of the Aztecs, Mexicans, Peruvians, Red Indians, Polynesians, Alaskans and Esquimaux. If the savage did decorate his scalpel, chiefly meant for flaying his enemy alive, with rude and rough figures, engraved or etched on it, to satisfy his innate *human* art instinct, the primitive man's fancy or imagination too was never left idle. It created a world of its own corresponding to the world of physical phenomena to embody his fantasies, imaginings, his inexplicable sense of presences around him, his awe, his sense of the grand and the beautiful. To think of man divorced from the most rudimentary type of literary activity is at once to brutalize him. His life, considered by us at the level just removed a single step beyond man taken biologically alone, is a life incapable of being dissociated from literature, be it the most elementary, even as a piece of downright logical abstraction;—for, verily, life and literature, in any true sense of these two terms, are individual, inseparable, *one whole* with two naturally inter-related aspects of a single reality. As there can be no transaction called buying divorced from selling so there is no *living* for man as a being other than the veriest brute apart from *literary activity* in some form or other.

V

Essential Unity of Life and Letters.

Two facts of one Reality (the Art of Living and the Art of recording life's experiences in what we call Literature).

Every thoughtful student of human evolution to-day recognises the fact that evolution of the social structure, in a progressive race or nation, ultimately determines the trend of the evolution of ideas, which, in its turn, is responsible for the evolution in aesthetics. Again, our social

structures are largely shaped by the dominant material conditions of life. It follows logically therefore that the relation is very intimate of traits considered to be moral or spiritual in man and what are considered as things mainly ministering to man, merely as a biological animal, which, after all, happen in man's progressive growth, as reflected in letters and arts, to play a very important part in determining and regulating the direction that man's highest intellectual and artistic pursuits must take. Such pursuits unscientific minds are too prone to exclusively associate with things supposed to be above man's material cravings, needs, activities, which such minds too hastily dismiss as things of a lower order. The right attitude is the attitude of a man of broad culture who can attempt, if not achieve, a synthesis between the claims of so-called matter and mind, by being true to these kindred points of heaven and home in human history.

Two ways of realising the Reality constituted by Life and Letters: the way of Acceptance and the way of Revolt or Challenge (which life comprehends and literature represents):

It has to be noted also that this process of evolutionary growth includes periods of revolutions, when, for the time, man is cut off suddenly from his old moorings and sent apparently adrift, at the mercy of destructive storm and stress, into a pathless sea of new experiments and weird adventures, where no chart or compass is available to guide his voyage into a peaceful haven of easy and comfortable achievements. Cosmos does not prosper without the aid of chaos as its very material;—nay, it evolves out of the very body and soul of its antagonist. Homogeneity is disturbed in all departments of life (as opposed to death and stagnation) by the impact of opposed forces which alone gives rise to differentiations. Antithesis breaks up thesis to make synthesis possible, when homogeneity is replaced by harmony. Such ever has been the path of progress. Very briefly and summarily stated, *in letters*, whether in the Orient or the Occident, the course of development in this evolutionary process has been from the

classical through the romantic to the naturalistic and realistic, as a counterpart of the movement of socio-political factors of life from the aristocratic or patrician towards the proletariat or plebeian, through the intermediate stage of the middle-classes. This, in short, is the history of the advent of what we are proud of as the *modern* phase in letters corresponding to the scientific spirit of to-day, fast elbowing out the theological or the metaphysical. In other words, we can represent the trend of the action and reaction between life and letters, along its well-defined stages, implying equally well-worked phases of thought movement in man, with which is naturally associated in *intimate relationship* the various aspects of aesthetic apprehension and embodiment in concrete *forms,* either in terms of Hegelian or (for the matter of that) Spencerian interpretation of the history of humanity, or in terms of August Comte, modified, where necessary, to suit our standpoint and purpose.

Method of study of Literature in actual use.

It is well-known that the highly suggestive and fruitful historical and comparative method of study, inaugurated in the scientific-minded nineteenth century, has to-day been enhanced in its usefulness and promise of richer results by the up-to-date critical method which proposes to approach the study of the highly complicated and complex phenomenon of literature, in its most comprehensive sense, from three distinct points of view. This rather "*modernist*" division into three ways of what is fundamentally a single one is, however, a mere question of convenience, favourable to a division of labour among experts. These ways are not surely antagonistic to one another but complementary. There is essentially greater co-operation than competition among them—only each one, for convenience' sake, works out its own separate *specialised* province of intensive study, to which a set of experts in their own allotted fields may fruitfully devote their time and attention. These experts never forget that all roads must eventually lead to Rome.

The three outstanding ways are:—(1) the genetic and

historical which traces results back to origins and indicates affinities and affiliations;

(2) the Psychological with its emphasis on the subjective or individualistic element as in all lyrics, rhapsodies, confessions, reveries, journal *intime*, *pure prose* effusions like, for example, Lamb's Essays or some of Landor's Imaginary Conversations, *pure poetry* (ás in portions of Keats and some of the Pre-Raphaelites like Rossetti), in literature of self-portraiture (like the Prelude), or self-disclosure with just a dash of abandon, spontaneous or somewhat artificial, or at least conventional (as in the *letters* of Cowper, Lady Mary W. Montague, Pope, Senancour, Keats or in Byron's rhetorical Childe Harold's Pilgrimage or Goethe's Eckermann Conversations and in the literature of mysticism as represented by Eckhert, or Madame Guyon ;

(3) the social with its more defined and elaborate reference to the *actualities* of life relating to the age in which a particular literary man of note flourishes whose writings sum up the main currents of social movements representing the *zeit-geist*.

" The Middle Ages emphasize the religious attitude, the feudal nobility, the aristocratic attitude, the bourgeoisie, the moral attitude. To-day it is the social attitude that is emphasized. The chaos of our emotional and mental life revolves about the chaos of our economic world. Only a clear conception of social values can clarify our approach. Art that is social in vision becomes art that is dynamic in form."

There is " the clear emergence of social aesthetic out of moral chaos." This coincides with a "new attitude towards life." Poetry and drama are " an expression of social life." The drama is to subserve social ends. This new spirit, new ideal, new demand (specially on the stage[1] and the drama) is present in many currents in contemporary literature. Killerman's *The*

[1] *Cf.* Tolstoy's " What is Art?" and Nietzsche's " The Gay Science," and the condition of the Munich Stage during 1924 to 1926.

Ninth of November and *The Sea* ; Barbusse's *Chains* ; Theiss' *Gateway to Life* ; Vergos' *Mastro-don-Gesualda* ; *Kaisers' Die Burger von Calais* ; Duhamel's *Les Hommes Abandonnes* and *Civilization* ; Sternheim's *Burgher Schippel* and *Tabula Rasa*— all these show the movement toward social attitude away from the individual. Grisor's poem "The Factory," Steinbach's poems on "Women and Revolution," Pretzang's "Daughters of Labour," the works of Werfel and Toller show clearly the tendency to stress the social instead of the individualistic element. The post-Revolutionary Poetry (since 1917) of Russia, nay the entire Soviet literature of to-day, is distinctly proletarian, reflecting the dominant outlook on life of the Russian masses. I can only mention Arsky's *Collective Will*, Demyan Bedny's *The Workmen's Hymn*, Filipchenko's *The Masses*, Ionov's *The Communists* and Obradovich's *The Factory*.

Permit me just for one moment to go a little deeper—without, I hope, being open to the charge of becoming metaphysical. In this connection let me also indulge in a personal explanation. My theme has at every stage of my thinking on it irresistibly tempted me to dive below the surface to offer you whatever philosophy I am humbly capable of bringing to bear upon it. But believe me, kindly, when I frankly add that I have resolutely placed myself under a rigid self-denying ordinance with a view to rigorously shut out whatever might be condemned by my indulgent audience as too deep or subtle. If I have erred I have erred on purpose on the side of making my humble performance as popular as is consistent with the nature of its subject-matter. Nay, I am really afraid that I have allowed this steady aim to dominate to such an extent as to, perhaps, render myself open to the charge of superficiality which for once, I am prepared to plead guilty to rather than be dismissed either as an over-subtle analyser of things or as a dreamer of too poetic dreams smuggled cleverly into a popular discourse.

VI

A Little Bit of Analysis.

How and why Life is bound to be reduced for man to Literature.

No very deep or profound thinking or elaborate and searching analysis is needed to enable us to realise a radical truth to which we in our great hurry often remain blind. A moment's pause—if we can, in the language of the poet, only "stand and stare," which is practically tantamount to the Wordsworthian "wise passiveness" in us—sufficeth to make us aware of a fascinating fact that in *living* we focus our attention on the immediate present, while in *embodying as literature* what we live through, we treat that very substance of life as something *past*. In other words in literature, life which is always in a state of flux, in motion,—which is in a way fleeting, evanescent, mobile, which like the proverbial time and tide will wait for none—is recaptured so to say, made to stop for us to enable us to observe, analyse, think about, reason, feel over again in a more leisurely, detached, self-possessed manner, co-ordinate and connect into a whole what fragmentarily passes quickly before our gaze as an endless quick succession in a cinema performance of numerous independent partial pictures of parts of one indivisible whole-subject to be impressed on the audience.

Now, philosophically viewed, what exactly is the precise nature of what we are in the habit of calling and accepting as a phenomenon happening in what we call the present moment? Do we not, philosophers or no philosophers, know that time moves so fast and change constitutes, in Bergson's terms, the very essence of existence to such an extent, that by the moment we, as feeling and thinking beings, can manage with our comparatively slow-moving faculties to be *aware* in consciousness that a thing exists, or is happening, it *has already happened* and become "*was*"? If we are very accurate in thinking and accurate in expressing ourselves, we are bound to confess that

we have not the ability to catch " the present " *qud* present; for by the time—be it the infinitesimal fraction of a second —*awareness* of a fact—of *factum*—is achieved by the human consciousness it has ceased to belong to the category of the present by having already passed into the category of what we remember. It has become a thing *in memory*; it is " past." This continuous, ever-moving, exceedingly, nay, bafflingly rapid movement, this quick-flowing stream of *actualities*, becoming transformed in the fraction of a single moment of time into memories, reminiscences, recollections,—this it is what makes the stuff of life as we live it; and, this, again, it is which forms the very substance of literature as concrete embodiment of this never-ending series of moment to moment self-consciousness, captured by the *art* of literary activity to be recorded as an immortal heritage for civilised man and woman.

Shakespeare was more an unerring, though sub-conscious or even unconscious, psychologist than a dreaming poet when he penned the ever-memorable lines which are unto us a profound record of man's highest experience—

> " The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
> Are of imagination all compact:
> * * *
> The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
> And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name."
>
> M., N. D., V. I, ll. 7-8 and 12-17.

Surely I do not forget that Shakespeare is speaking of poetry and that poetry by itself does not make up the whole of literature. If necessary, I shall presently meet such objectors, if any. Let me observe however here, that among the fine arts poetry is pre-eminently that kind of art which is mainly concerned with " *relations of time*," which has for main principle

"the idea of motion, of succession" whereas painting, sculpture and architecture form a "class concerned with relations of *space*; we see and touch and measure its products."[1] And I am in my own way, now attempting to satisfactorily establish the intimate and inseparable kinship of life and letters by a single little bit of philosophic thinking which to my mind ought to be enough to bring home to my courteous and indulgent hearers, gathered at this meeting, the validity of my contention. Therefore the quotation from Shakespeare is in my present context perfectly relevant even though it is meant to be applied to poetry.

Moreover, poetry, according to Wordsworth "is the image of man and nature." So it does cover all that literature in a larger sense must deal with as its theme. In Emerson's language "poetry is the perpetual endeavour to express the spirit of the thing." It forcibly reminds me of Hegel's remark that "poetry is the real of the spirit" (*vide* his *Aesthetick*) and of Theodore Watts Dunton's equally cogent and impressive suggestion that "it is in expressing the countless shifting movements of the soul from passion to passion, that poetry shows inspite of her infirmities her superiority to the plastic arts" (Encycl. Brit., Vol. 19, 9th Ed.). So, it is truly the highest type of literature. Poetry, Ruskin will tell you, has concern with "the sacred passions—Love, Veneration, Admiration and Joy —— and their opposites—Hatred, Indignation, Horror and Grief." Thus so far as emotions go (as distinct from actions and thoughts) this *form* of literature known to us as poetry practically exhausts man's life of the emotions. And a predecessor[2] of our present poet-laureate (Masefield) held poetry to be "a transfiguration of life." Mr. M. H. Liddell says, "poetry is literature, usually of a high degree of Human Interest, which

[1] Professor F. B. Gummere, Ph.D.

[2] Alfred Austin in his Introduction to "The Human Tragedy," 1889 edition.

in addition to its Human Interest, has in it an added Aesthetic Interest, etc." [1]

VII

Functions of Literature.

Having, with what success it is not for me to say, attempted to establish the fundamental unity of life and letters I next address myself to a meagre treatment of its functions within the limits severely imposed on a short study of a great subject.

Literature is described as a representation of man and nature. It is accepted as a criticism of life. For example in satires, comedies, farces, humorous sketches or skits, burlesques, parodies, mock epics and other kindred varieties, literature is pre-eminently a *criticism* of life. It is the artistic skill of a somewhat detached spectator of life's ludicrous elements, displayed in the art of applying critical ideas to the spontaneous play of life in its careless abandon. Herein literature functions somewhat like the much-needed scavenging department of a Municipal Administration without which hygiene and sanitation cannot be maintained. Literature keeps society in health by humorously pointing out where society is thoughtlessly indulging in aberrations that disturb social sanitation or even moral hygiene. Wherever and whenever decorum, decency, dignity, reserve, restraint, self-control, due proportion, orderliness or harmony runs the risk of being destroyed, or even temporarily disturbed, the exceedingly useful yet somewhat negative work of preserving individual life and social life from deterioration, degeneration, degradation, decay or decadence, must be seriously undertaken by literature. It is "reaction" or revolt that actively operates in this matter. We just refer to the excesses of Puritanism necessitating the restoration of social balance by the excesses of Restoration

[1] Introduction to the Scientific Study of Poetry.

literature in England, the excesses of Restoration ribaldry again requiring the fine and delicate humour of a Steele or an Addison or the more vigorous sledge-hammer strokes of Swift, the excesses of decadent feudalism demanding a *Don Quixote* or Voltaire's ruthless grimaces, the excesses of Richardson's sentimentalism demanding the very delicate Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, the excesses of Victorian compromise and self-complacency crying for the Georgian literature of our own day, the excesses of Tsarism in Russia making of the Russian fiction what it became with Dostoievsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, Gorky and even Chekhov. This is the reaction and response of literary effort of man to his intellectual, moral and sociological environment. It is the purifying function of the Time-spirit.

Useful to the extent of being indispensable though this function is, I do not look upon this as literature's highest service to life.

In a larger sense the greatest function of literature is in multiform expression. Impressionists, pure and simple will, I remember, at once frown on me. Neither can I ignore the sarcastic smile at me on the part of aesthetes pure and simple who care not for anything beyond their precious cult of Art for Art's sake. This school will carry the underlying principle of all representation of existence to the logical extreme of sheer aesthetic transformation or artistic translation of man's totality of experience into one of the many kinds of artistic medium and make that the be-all and end-all of all literary activity. It will value words as expressive symbols more for their sound or colour suggestiveness that helps to make an imagery telling, vivid, intense, impressive, appealing to *sensuous sensibility* than for their meaning or sense value enhancing by their *connotation* the significance of what is embodied in language.

I cannot further pursue this tempting analysis for obvious reasons.

But literary expression surely does not mean mere statement of facts or presentation of unmodified actualities ; it is not photography. The highest aspects of literary expression lies in *idealisation* of the real, which often is chaotic, uncontrollable, disorderly, baffling, mysterious, rebellious, unregenerate, extravagant, nay, even bizarre, or at least, grotesque and fantastic, or too homely, colourless, drab, humdrum, prosaic, fragmentary, and apparently meaningless.

The real in life as such, unidealised, when sublime and mysterious, gives birth to such literature—literature at a higher height, no doubt, as that of the Aeschylean tragedy or of the supreme irony of a Sophocles, not mellowed by the human tears we associate with Euripides. It is too sombre and over-serious. The Fates, the Eumenides, rule our world to our utter benumbing discomfiture. The gods too are subject to their inexorable decrees and yet as Epicurus held they lie beside their nectar careless of the affairs of mankind,—pitiless, relentless, self-absorbed, far far away on Olympian heights, or on the heights of smoke-enfolded Sinai, where even a prophet like Moses must in trepidation and reverent awe wait to receive the Commandments, for even the veritable chosen seed, with whom the Holy of Holies vouchsafed to enter into a Covenant.

It is by this necessary process of idealisation of the actual, this artistic transformation of whatever can appeal to the emotional self in us through the imagination, that poets can apparel all ordinary objects in a celestial light, can add to what is commonplace the light that is neither on the sea nor land, but which is the poet's consecration and his dream. When this is achieved, the yellow primrose on the river's brim ceases to be a mere yellow primrose, the cuckoo brings to us a tale of visionary hours, the nightingale becomes an immortal creature not born for death, the Grecian urn enables us to realise that Truth is beauty and Beauty is truth ; we discover then Helen's beauty on an Egyptian brow, the infant on the nurse's arms becomes the best philosopher, the one eye among us grown-ups, the blind, forever toiling

all our lives to find truths that naturally rest on the *little child*, glorious in the might of heaven-born freedom.

If literature is viewed as a mode of artistic representation, here lies its highest form and herein its highest function, *viz.*, of clothing the commonplace and unimpressive with imaginative glow and warmth, which lend enchantment to what man ordinarily views and calls the negligible commonplace and of thus making everything, a source of joy to us for ever—The artist's way of comprehending the universe, the Beauty-way, distinguished from the Truth-way of the philosopher or the scientist, or the Utility-way of the statesman or the moralist, or the reformer, not to speak of the industrialist.

But whether interpreted as functioning as *criticism* of life, or its *representation* in an idealistic, realistic or naturalistic fashion, or as the most appealing form of *expression* of the totality of experience, or a purely aesthetic *presentation* of all that is, literature, taken comprehensively and viewed from the right standpoint and understood correctly, in the main drift of all different schools of thought and of critical canons, is ultimately one and the same. We have to acknowledge that the totality of man's experiences, including his *reflexes* as subjective counterparts of *impressions* produced by external stimuli, acting on his senses and serving as objective sources of all *knowing* and feeling, in other words, Life, constitutes the very stuff of Literature, for, it is out of these experiences, oftener than not aesthetic ones, that literary men spin the very warp and woof which literature as an *Art* weaves into the finished fabric of verse or prose.

In this larger and broader view, which alone is the correct view, life is unto literature both law and impulse ; for life sets the specialised activity of the literary artist in motion as an inspiring, compelling force, and at the same time regulates, shapes, the character, the type, the quality, the worth of the literary product.

The Bible, for instance, thus is more than a Scripture, being to those whose religion is different, an eternal fountain of

truth, beauty, goodness, love and joy, enshrined in a literary work of matchless merit. The Vedas are thus to non-Hindus the most ancient and antique repositories of man's sublime and beautiful imaginings, the Avesta, the Koran, the Book of the Dead, to name a few, equally possess their *universal* validity and appeal to man as man, irrespective of his creed, dogma, religious belief or practice, irrespective of his sect or church, his nationality, his social bias, his geographical limitation. It is thus that to-day all competent judges are agreed in considering as the heritage of the whole world such literary productions as for instance, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Mahabharat, Ramayana, the Bible, the Koran, Avesta, the Tripitaka, Taoism, Confucianism as recorded in books, the Nibelungenlied, the Mabinogion, the Iliad, the Aeneid, the Divine Comedy, the Paradise Lost, the Shahnameh, Kumarasambhabam, Raghubamsham, Sakuntala, Kathasaritsagar, Aesop's Fables, the Arabian Nights' Tales, the Odes of Pindar, Horace, Ovid's Heroides, the cycles of Carlovingian or Arthurian Romances, the works of the Trouveres and Troubadours, of Petrarch and Boccaccio, of Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Calderon, of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, Plautus, Terence, Racine, Corneille, Faust, the Prelude, the Idylls of the King or In Memoriam, Sartor Resartus, Leaves of the Grass, Adonais, Hyperion, Ring and the Book, Old Mortality, Oliver Twist, Esmond, Romola, the Egoist, Jude the Obscure, Forsyte Saga, the Dynasts, Justice, Strife, the Tragedy of Nan, Prometheus in Piccadilly, the Testament of Beauty, Gitanjali, Sadhana, Anna Karenina, Brothers Caramazov, Dead Soul, Mona Vanna, Treasure of the Humble, Hunger or the Great Hunger.

On principle and purpose I have put together names exactly as they have spontaneously occurred to my mind without any the least effort at orderly classification or chronological order just to convince you that life in its myriad varieties and aspects has become embodied in its fulness in a variety of forms and ways in the world's literature from remote antiquity down

to the year of grace 1929. I have attempted no classification here but thrown pellmell in a heap these noted names of men and books in a moment of abandon to give expression to a personal realisation of the unity and identity of life and letters.

A new function of Literature.

Literature is not merely, however, the product of life or its inert depository and receptacle; but it is in transitional periods of human history a great active force, a creative agency, a shaping power. I have barely time for a mere hint. In the history of the Occident, we have such evidence in the Renaissance, the French Revolution and the recent Great War. In these cases it is the diffusion of ideas, thoughts, ideals, views of life by potent writers that transformed, shaped, moulded and regulated life itself, giving to man and woman a new, if not strange, outlook on it. In the Orient, we had *shaping of life by literature*, when the Vedic *Karmakanda* was replaced by the Upanishadic *Jnanamarga* (the quest of the Absolute through illumined intuitive vision), and again at the advent of Buddhism, once more at that of the world-renowned great Shankaracharyya, again when the Tantric *Sadhan* (discipline) changed through the Tantra literature even the Yoga system of Patanjali, and finally, when the age of spiritual democracy was born in the much-misunderstood and stupidly called immobile East, our own dear and glorious Mother India, at the advent of a whole host of popular religious reformers whose religious songs will continue amidst all the fret and fury of modernism, industrial and political unrest and upheaval, to be to us the bed-rock of our spiritual life, which alone is life eternal and true; I mean, Sri Gauranga or Chaitanyadeva, Tukaram, Tulsidas, Kabir, Mira Bai, Namdad, but though mentioned last yet not the least but one of the highest, your own Guru Nanak, and Dayanand.

Thus, literature is the creature as well as creator of life, ever new, the fountain at which weary and worn travellers like my humble self, parched and athirst, will with pleasure and profit, ever turn to slake the thirst of life, the thirst which is our

life-long yearning for more light, more abundance of vitality, for more beauty, for more joy, for more illumination and enlightenment and for that peace of the soul which passeth all understanding, the beatitude and bliss in which must find rest our ever active energising body and soul. Our vain struggles, unsure aims and purposes, baffled aspirations, partially fulfilled ideals, in the allotted three score years and ten, open in and through all that is immortalised in sublime and beautiful literary works of the whole world, which literature alone makes one kin, as through a wide arch an endless vista to our insatiable aspiring spirit, voyaging through eternity, in which vista is merged, absorbed to be more enriched, all our petty, ephemeral, haphazard and apparently futile endeavours, full of limitations, due to the infirmities of the flesh to which the embodied soul is subject. But the indwelling spirit of this our muddy vesture feels that it is eternally free in its endless quest of the One Person, the immanental World Soul or Universal Spirit, in whom is harmonised all Truth, all Beauty, all Love, all Joy, all Beatitude and Bliss, the One in the many, He that ever is as सत्यम् सुन्दरम् शिवमानन्दम्, for, verily, रसो वै सः and not in the fragmentary many only is He manifest but in Unity, in भूमा or the Infinite, which is the culmination of all finites.

Literature leads life along the path of the fragmentary many to this ultimate goal of Unity.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai—Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras. edited by H. Dodwell, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S, printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, priced at Rs. 3. The get-up of the book is good. The final instalment of the Diary covers a period just over a year, from January 1760, to the diarist's death on January 12, 1761. Ranga Pillai was for a considerable number of years the foremost Hindu resident of Pondichery, better informed on political matters than any other. He came of a family which had been peculiarly honoured by the French authorities. For a considerable time the diarist—the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community was the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. He also played the part of Foreign Secretary to the Governor, translating letters or getting them translated, suggesting appropriate answers, and himself corresponding with distant ministers. He might know no language but his own, but he had a rough and ready knowledge of several. He could interpret a Persian letter when read out to him. He could probably speak and write Telugu and Malayalam, besides his French and Portuguese. Of the men and circumstances of the time Ranga Pillai was a close and interested observer. Besides his mind was a store-house of diplomatic precedents. The editor himself says: "Viewed as a whole, this Diary which covers almost a quarter of a century is a curiously mixed document. No one will ever read it for its sake. Yet it has historical importance. During the greater part of these twenty-five years, the momentous struggle was being fought out in South India which finally settled the issue whether India was to be dominated from Paris or London." The book is certainly of importance to those who will study the early history of India from original sources. We congratulate the editor for bringing out such a useful work.

A. GUHA

Karmayoga.—By Yogi Bhikshu. Published by Yogi Publication Society, Chicago, U. S. A. ; 1928 ; pp. 138, price Rs. 6-4 as.

The volme under review is a book of eleven lectures from the pen of an Asiatic Bhikshu who combines in himself the enthusiasm of a devotee,

the inspiration of a yogi, and the information of an eclectic. The author rightly points out that the very fabric of human nature is rooted in Karman or activity, and man like every other thing of the universe, from the minutest atom to the vastest mountain, is bound by the inevitable law of Karman, and thus cannot ever remain inactive (*akarmakrit*). He has not omitted the usual details of *niskama karma* or the performance of duty without thought for consequence, and *Vairagya* or indifference to the inroads of the passion of love and hatred and is fully alive to the fact that inaction should not be the motto of the karmayogi. Rather his is a life of useful activity which is cosmocentric rather than egocentric and the greater world is his home. Discomfort and annoyance, hunger and wet, pain and cold, squalor and filth cease to have any deterrent action whatever; death turns into a commonplace matter and its usual power to check our action vanishes. The greatest ideal of Karmayoga which the author should have emphasised is, in the words of Swami Vivekananda "non-resistance which is the most beautiful manifestation of power in actual possession, and the true life of work is indeed, harder than the equally true life of renunciation." His dissertation on the *Pranaba* or 'Aum' evinces the true spirit in which it, the symbol of all divinity and of all that is real, has to be uttered and realised with its moral and mystical effect on the pronouncer. The lectures are copiously illustrated by felicitous citations from the renowned theosophical writers like Madame Blavatsky, Fourneer, McSwiney and others, in addition to those from the usual Indian Yoga literature such as the Bhagavat Gita, the Yoga Sutras, and the Upanishads; and the author has added to the interest of the book by embodying in it the best thoughts of the Quoran, the Bible and the Avesta. The book contains much information and is a useful handbook on the subject in its own way.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

A Short History of Kashmir from Earliest Time to the Present Day—By Pandit Gwasha Lal, B.A. Priced at Annas 8, published by Zutshi and Company, Srinagar, Kashmir. The get-up of the book is bad. The author in this small treatise has attempted to present a short history of Kashmir from the pre-historic time to the current time. He notes that it is the first of its kind. According to the tradition recorded in the Nilmat Purana, Kasyapa, the son of Marici is the founder of this beautiful land. He next passes on to the early Hindu period and the

Buddhistic period. Next, he takes up Hindu period and Muslim period respectively. He has also given an account of Kashmir under the Sikh Government at Lahore. The Sikhs were defeated by the British at Sobraon in February, 1846. The victors got Kashmir and other adjoining districts as part payment of their war indemnity. They made over part of this new acquisition to Maharaja Golap Singh in return for 75 lacs by a treaty signed March 15, 1846 A.D. The author has further given an account of all noteworthy things to be seen at Kashmir. He has indeed touched briefly most of the things to be noted in connexion with the history of Kashmir. In this respect the book may prove useful to those for whom it is intended. But the book, to my mind, is wanting in method.

A. GUHA

A Higher English Grammar. By L. Tipping, M.A. Macmilan & Co.; Limited, London, 1927.

As a writer of elementary text-books for learning English, Mr. Tipping's is a well-known name in this country and if experience is of any help in the task, he has it in a large measure. And whatever he does has the credit of something distinctive and in this Higher English Grammar there are some chapters which are novel in their kind and betray an originality of outlook rare to find in text-books, specially on Grammar. It is such chapters that substantiate the title claimed,—A *Higher* English Grammar. Mr. Tipping begins with sentences, not words, as is so generally done, and his procedure is supported by the fact that words are never the true unit of speech, either in form or thought. Our attention is drawn specially to the last four chapters beginning with " the English language;" these will give the student a glimpse into the nature of the language which he will know more intimately as he proceeds to study philology or history of the language. A business-like style, maintained throughout, raises the tone of the book and, not being crammed with details, it will be a *pleasant study* of Grammar if such a phrase is allowed to stand in respect of a branch of learning generally considered crabbed.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Vyathā o Vedanā. By Sri Hiranmaya Bandyopadhyaya. The Book Company Limited, 4/3 B, College Square, Calcutta, 1930.

This is just half a century of Bengali verse with a unity of theme, all addressed to the writer's newly married young wife (as the introduction tells us), whose absence he feels so acutely while residing in England for study, though seas and oceans intervene. Separation has been a favourite occasion for stimulating the poetic sentiment ever since the composition of the *Meghaduta*, if not earlier, and one feels naturally interested in the attempt. Unfortunately, the poems are more or less experimental and the echo of the original, specially of Rabindranath, is heard as we read the lines. The numerous faults in rhyming and lapses in music are hard to counterbalance, even by occasional beauty of phrase and sentiment. The grouping of the poems according to thought has been happy, but there are many printing mistakes which spoil the effect of poetical compositions in particular. Interesting, however, are the attempts at adapting exotic measures, *e.g.*, triolets in the dedicatory verses, and a large number of the poems—twenty out of a total fifty—are sonnets or variations of the form, which, it may be noted, supplied the poet with a suitable vehicle for encasing his poetic effusions with success. It is refreshing also to note that Mr. Banerji is quite simple in his diction, and the introductory essay, discussing varieties of the emotion and contributed by the poet's father—a scholar and teacher of repute—will be read with special interest and appreciation, and is a commendable feature of the volume.

P. S.

Baladitya: A Historical Romance of Ancient India. By A. S. Panchapakesha Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. Bombay, D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. 1930. Priced at Rs. 4 or 7*s.* 6*d.* only.

A historical romance in English by an Indian is, on the face of it, a daring task undertaken, and it is still more risky to review it, But the reviewer in this instance feels a little comforted on perusal, and is in a position to state that the book before him is exempted from general imperfections. The period dwelt upon, the episode of the re-conquest of India by Indians from the Hun aggressors—one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of the past—has an eternal charm for the student of history, and the treatment has a topical interest as well. The Gupta period, as every one interested in the development of Indian culture knows, is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian history, and many works of art and monuments of architecture amply testify to it.

One feels tempted to add that it invites comparison with the present era which also, in the opinion of many sound thinkers, is witnessing a renaissance of Hindu culture. Foreign aggression was the calamity which cast a shadow that hung over the fair country, and froze the genial activities of the people for a time.

At the commencement of the story we find Baladitya, descendant of the Gupta Emperor and King of Magadha, an outcast in his own country and hunted by the agents of Toramana, king of the Huns and the conqueror of the Guptas. After an adventurous escape from their clutches he and his friend Yasodharman, king of Malwa and Maha-Kosala, get into the forest of Viswakarani (which reminds one of Sherwood forest) and meet with a distressed damsel of dazzling beauty, Saraswati by name, and Hari Ram, the Robin Hood of the piece. The two friends then leave the forest and Baladitya goes straight to Bharukachcha, one of the greatest ports in those days, to book a passage to Keralaputra in the South. He falls in with Paramarthi whose introduction in the story gives to it a freshness of the seas, for Paramarthi is a merchant who has seen the world. The merchant proves a very useful acquaintance, for he has no difficulty in arranging passage by his ship, the *Vikrama*, not only for the king but also for Saraswati and his other companions. We are told that this *Vikrama* once defeated a big ship of the West, the *Pegasus*, near Rome The daughter of Paramarthi, Parvati, is full of vivacity and never lets enjoyment drop on the cruise to Kerala which lasts for a month. Mahasena, king of Kerala, bids Baladitya welcome,—for by this time the identity of the Gupta was known to his friends and companions—and promises practical help in winning back the kingdom of Magadha. Baladitya and Saraswati get married. In the *Swayamvara* ceremony at Kalingapattam, in which Princess Charumati, the pride of the Kalingas, is to choose a husband, the princes that assemble for the purpose are sounded and many of them promise to march in fight against the Huns so as to help Baladitya in coming to his own. Charumati weds Yasodharman, who is presented to court her on his own behalf, when he understands his friend has already married Saraswati. Preparations for fight are made, and the Huns and the Indians meet just outside Pataliputra; the battle wages doubtful, till Gunasagara effects a reinforcement which utterly defeats the Hun army and forces Mihirakula to run away. After this, Baladitya announced that he was a Buddhist and this alienates his friends Yasodharman and others who want to rally round the banner of Hinduism. The cleavage between the two friends widens, as Yasodharman is dissatisfied with Baladitya's pacifist tendencies and also because he has

wedded Saraswati who cannot boast of any royal blood. Everything, however, is settled right in the battle of Karur in which Yasodharman finally wrests the country free from Hunnish control. But there is a tragic gloom as we near the end; Baladitya's son Murari has received a mortal wound in the fight and dies after lingering for some time on the sick-bed in Malwa,—the news hastens the end of Baladitya, already striken hard with disease, who dies with the name of the Buddha on his lips. Yasodharman, in conformity with Hindu practice as laid down in the Shastras, after his conquest and consolidation of the empire and the restoration of his old feelings for the departed friends of his youth, leaves for Puri, accompanied by his wife, there to spend his days in holy meditation. "The call of Jagannath, the call of Jagannath has a strong hold on all of us. May it for ever remain so! May the whole world feel the call of the Lord of the Universe, the call of the God of his temple, the God around us and, above all, the God within us all!" Let us say '*Amen*' to it.

The text is not relieved by any brilliancy in style, but the sentences, short and jerky as they are, are sometimes pithy and deserve to be remembered. "Forget all your eternal quarrels and jealousies and fight as one man in the cause of our country and culture." Again,—"To teach anything peculiar or distinguishing, a third-rate intellect is enough, but to bring out before one's mind clearly the full force and meaning and necessity of fundamental and cardinal and common truths always vaguely grasped by the human intellect and, by the very reason of their familiarity, possessing an elusive appearance of easiness, requires the very greatest genius." All these have applications beyond the immediate context.

In spite of the monotonous style of the author and other imperfections (one of the most glaring is the relative position of Vanga and Anga in the map of India before the battle of Karur), one is struck with the thoughtful sayings and the philosophical outlook in the book. In the cycle of events called history, some principles of uniformity may be detected, and it is one of the practical objects of the student of history to find them out so as to be able to predict the course of future events with some degree of probability. It is refreshing to find that our author has sometimes taken his stand on such high ground—his sentences have thus now and then a ring of prophetic truth. The author also deserves credit for the gift of construction and skilfully marshalling the many characters of varied ranks which his imagination has created.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Heroines of Ancient Persia. By Bapsy Paury, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 15*s*.).

This is a book which contains the deeds and actions of the heroines of ancient Persia as depicted by the world-famous poet Firdausy in his immortal epic poems *Shahnamah* or *Book of Kings*. He shows us how women in days of yore have played an important part in the social and political life of the country, and how the same qualities of human nature which fascinates us to-day, have also existed in by-gone ages.

Mr. Bapsy Paury has in this book admirably dealt with the lives and chivalrous feats of the heroines of ancient Persia, one after another, in the order in which they appear in *Shahnamah*, in a manner that it will not only appeal to Oriental scholars, but even amuse and win the sympathy of chance readers. It is written in a beautiful and lucid style and is a valuable addition to literature dealing with Oriental subjects. The fourteen illustrations produced in this book are fine specimens of Persian paintings. The book is printed with care and finish.

M. K. Shirazi

Ourselves

The Late Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee

With deep regret we record the death of Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee, Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, with his wife and only son in most tragic circumstances by drowning in the Brahmaputra while on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Umananda Bhairab near Gauhati. Our hearts are too full to give adequate expression to our feelings. Dr. Gauranganath has passed away leaving a void in the University circle which cannot be filled up for some time to come. It is difficult to refrain from indulging in personal feelings upon the death of one with whom we have been on such affectionate terms. Our hearts are bleeding and the wound is still fresh.

Gauranganath was born at his maternal grandfather's house at Bhowanipur, Calcutta, in the year 1890. He was a student of the Hindu School and of the Presidency College whence he took his M.A. Degree with a First Class in History in 1912. He got his B.L. Degree in 1914 and the same year he was awarded the much-coveted Premchand Roychand Student ship for his researches in Ancient Indian History. Appointed a Lecturer in History in the Post-Graduate Department of the University in 1916 he continued his researches and was ultimately rewarded with the Doctorate in 1919. His thesis "Hellenism in Ancient India" has been well received by historians both in Europe and America. His career has throughout been marked by industry, steadiness and perseverance—characteristics which were evident even in his early boyhood. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who had a happy knack of choosing the right man for the right place, discerned in young Gauranganath qualities which led him to select him for the Secretaryship of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts when the post was vacated by Dr. H. C. Mookerji, in 1920. Dr. Gauranganath soon justified his



THE LATE Dr. GAURANGANATH BANERJEE

selection and he was popular with students and teachers alike. He continued diligently to cultivate his studies and many and varied were his contributions to the journals of the various learned societies of which he was a member.

His tastes were simple and his manners exceedingly courteous. He leaves behind two brothers: the eldest Babu Tarunanga Banerji is an advocate of the Calcutta High Court and the youngest Babu Anilanga Banerji, M.B., is a senior demonstrator in the Belgachia Medical College. His only daughter survives him. Our sympathy goes out to the members of the bereaved family who, in their great sorrow, will find some consolation in the fact that their sorrow is shared by every one who has come in contact with his amiable personality.

* * *

Sir C. V. Raman and the Nobel Prize

The Nobel Committee have at last succumbed to the Raman Effect and decided to award the Prize in Physics for the first time in its history to a swarthy son of the East. The Committee is to be congratulated on their decision. To the uninitiated the Raman Effect may mean anything or nothing. The new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which, we are told, is specially intended for the layman, does not help us much. Professor F. N. da C. Andrade informs us that "when a beam of monochromatic light passes through a transparent substance, a certain amount of light is scattered from the path of the original beam, which is of greater wave-length than the incident light. This effect was discovered by Raman in 1928, and is known by his name." This may be quite transparent to the great pandits but it is not very intelligible to the man in the street. The average man grasps the importance of the discovery more easily when he is told that every laboratory worth its name is now engaged in investigating the significance of the Raman Effect, that the great scientists of Italy unanimously awarded

the Premio Matteucci Medal, the highest honour in their gift, to the great Indian scientist. The English savants tardily followed in their footsteps and decided to award the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society to Prof. Raman and soon afterwards the leading physicists of the western world recognised that no one has advanced the bounds of knowledge in recent times so conspicuously as the distinguished Palit Professor of Physics of the Calcutta University. Prof. Raman belongs to a dependent nation and we are not surprised that his merits have hitherto received but scant recognition from the Government of his country. Knighthoods now-a-days ordinarily go to back numbers and the tin gods of Simla certainly did not honour the greatest scientist of the age by bracketing him with mediocrities of all sorts. But Prof. Raman may very well afford to ignore the official assessment of his genius. He has added immensely to the prestige of his motherland when India stands before the bar of world opinion. It was a lucky day for the world of science in general and India in particular when young Raman made the acquaintance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Raman had to his credit a very distinguished University career. He graduated with first class Honours at the early age of sixteen and easily took his M.A. Degree two years later, topping the entire University list. This was an achievement of which a young man in his teens might very well be proud, but he did something greater: he proved that he was capable of undertaking original investigations on his own account. The boy scientist had already published an excellent paper in the Philosophical Magazine of London and his contributions to science had attracted the notice of no less a personage than the late Lord Raleigh. But even the most promising youth in India is seldom permitted to adopt a carreer of his own choice and Raman entered the Flnance Department of the Government of India. It was then that he met Sir Asutosh and became an active member of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. When the munificence of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose

made the foundation of the University College of Science possible, Sir Asutosh unhesitatingly offered the young physicist from Madras the newly endowed Chair of Physics. The appointment evoked some amount of criticism from a narrow-minded journalist and Raman had to suffer many a pin-prick on more than one occasion from this self-appointed guardian of University interests in Bengal. It has now been established beyond an iota of doubt that Sir Asutosh was right and his critics wrong and we hope that the achievements of Raman will silence the tongue of calumny once for all. Prof. Raman is still in the prime of his youth. May he be spared long to serve his country and further the great cause of science to which he has devoted his life.

* * *

Sir Jagadishchandra Bose

We are glad to have received from Munich the pleasing news that Sir Jagadishchandra Bose has been honoured by the German Academy (Die Deutsche Akademie), which of late has done so much to foster intimate cultural relation with India and specially favoured the Calcutta University and its organ the Calcutta Review, with an Honorary Corresponding Membership of that learned society and offer our sincere congratulations to the great scientist of Bengal.

* * *

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie secures a Special Fellowship for a Distinguished Medical Scholar

We are very glad to give publicity to the following interesting communication received from the German Academy of Munich, which will abundantly show what active and helpful measures are systematically being taken by that scholarly body in the interests of competent Indian graduates and research scholars willing and capable of profiting by the Academy's

cultural arrangements. We heartily express our gratitude to the promoters of such a laudable aim.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, through the co-operation of the Ministry of Education of Wurtemberg, recently secured a Research Fellowship for an Indian scholar who will carry on his research in the Medical College of the University of Tübingen. Among various applicants, the choice fell upon Dr. Khirode C. Chaudhuri, M.B. of Calcutta Medical College, who has been carrying on special studies in Vienna. In selecting Dr. Chaudhuri, his proficiency in German language was taken into consideration, while he was very highly recommended by Sir Nilratan Sircar, M.D., of Calcutta, Dr. Taraknath Das and various professors of the University of Vienna. Dr. Chaudhuri is now carrying on his research in the Children's Clinic and the Institute of Tropical Medicine of the University of Tübingen.

We wish to draw the attention of Indian medical men and women, that well-qualified and serious graduates of Indian Medical Colleges will find every opportunity for higher medical education and research work in German universities. They will be welcomed without any discrimination. A medical student in a German University, living modestly, will require *one hundred and fifty* to *two hundred pounds* for annual expenses.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie strongly suggests that prospective scholars—medical or otherwise—who wish to study in German Universities or Engineering Colleges; should acquire some knowledge of German before they leave India; India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie welcomes co-operation of Indians, interested in promoting Indo-German cultural relations.

All communications should be addressed to Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich (Germany) Residenz.

* * *

Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1930

Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, M.A., has been appointed the Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1930.

The Anauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1930

The Anauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1930 has been awarded, subject to the confirmation by the Senate, to Mr. M. K. Varadarajan on the thesis entitled "Sovereign Power of Indian States and their relation to the Paramount Power."

The Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for 1930

The Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for 1930 has been awarded to Mr. Sukumarranjan Dasgupta, M.A., on the thesis entitled "Village Reconstruction."

Result of the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, September, 1930

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 20, of which 1 was absent, 15 passed and 4 failed.

Dates of University Examinations, 1931

The following dates have been fixed as dates for commencement of the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc. and B.L. Examinations, 1931.

Matriculation Examination	...	Monday, the 23rd March, 1931.
I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations	...	Wednesday, the 8th April, 1931.
B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations	...	Tuesday, the 21st April, 1931.
Preliminary Examination in Law		Monday, the 2nd February, 1931.
Intermediate Examination in Law		Friday, the 6th February, 1931.
Final Examination in Law	...	Wednesday, the 11th February, 1931.

* * *

Rules and Regulations for the Indian Civil Service Examination for January, 1931

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

ESTABLISHMENTS

Simla, the 1st August, 1930.

No. F.334/29.—The following rules and instructions for the examinations for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India during 1931 are published for general information.

H. W. EMERSON,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

NOTICE

Competitive examinations for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held under the following rules at Delhi and Rangoon beginning on the 2nd January, 1931. Candidates accepted for admission to the examinations will be informed at what place in Delhi or Rangoon and at what hour they should present themselves.

The number of candidates to be selected at these examinations will be announced in the month of October.

A candidate in British India is required to submit his application through the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of his district[1] to the authority mentioned in Rule 3. No candidate will be admitted to the examination from whom the Collector or Deputy Commissioner[1] or the Political Officer or Agent has not received on or before the 22nd September, 1930, an application on the prescribed form accompanied by the necessary documents. Copies of the application form may be obtained from the authority mentioned in Rule 3.

No allegation that an application form or letter respecting such form has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office Certificate of Posting. Candidates who delay their applications until a late date will do so at their own risk.

A candidate for whom a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act is necessary [see Rule 4 (*b*)] should take immediate steps to obtain the declaration.

RESOLUTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 97 (6) of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India held this 1st day of July, 1930, hereby makes the following rules, for the regulation of admission to the Indian Civil Service through open competitive examinations to be held in India, namely:—

Rules for Competitive Examinations for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India.

(1) A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service shall be held in India at such time and place as the Governor General in Council may direct.

(2) The maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination may in the discretion of the Governor General in Council be limited to such number not being less than 200 as the Governor General in Council may decide. If a limit is imposed and the number of candidates exceeds that limit the Public Service Commission shall select from

[1] In the case of Calcutta the Commissioner of Police.

among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination and shall have regard in so doing to the suitability of the applicants for the Indian Civil Service and to the adequate representation of the various provinces of India.

(3) (*i*) A candidate shall apply to be admitted to the examination before such date and in such manner and in such form as the Governor General in Council may prescribe. The application shall be made to the proper authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or of an area in which they have previously resided for a period of not less than three years or in which he has himself resided, otherwise than as a student at a university only, for a like period.

(*ii*) The proper authority shall be, for a Governor's province the Chief Secretary, for Coorg, the North-West Frontier Province, Delhi or Ajmer-Merwara, the Chief Commissioner and for a State in India the Political Officer or Agent who shall be addressed through the Durbar.

(*iii*) No candidate shall make more than one application in respect of any one examination.

(4) A candidate must be a male and either

(*a*) a British subject of Indian domicile whose father (if alive) is a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (if dead) was at the time of his death either a British subject or a subject of a State in India or a person in the permanent service of the Crown or a person who had retired from that Service; or

(*b*) a Ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor General in Council has made a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act:

Provided that in the case of a male British subject the requirements of this rule may be waived by the Secretary of State in Council if he is satisfied that their observance would occasion exceptional hardship and the candidate is so closely connected by ancestry and upbringing with His Majesty's dominions as to justify special treatment.

(5) A candidate must have attained the age of 21 and must not have attained the age of 23 on the first day of January in the year in which the examination is held.

(6) A candidate must be in good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient performance of the duties of a member of the Indian Civil Service. A candidate who is found after examination by a Medical Board not to satisfy these requirements will not be accepted for admission to the examination.

(7) A candidate must satisfy the Public Service Commission that his

character is such as to qualify him for employment in the Indian Civil Service.

(8) [1]A candidate must hold a degree of a university approved by the Governor General in Council or the senior diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmer. In exceptional cases the Public Service Commission may, on the recommendation of the local Government, treat as a qualified candidate a candidate who though not possessing any of the foregoing qualifications, has passed examinations conducted by other institutions of a standard which, in the opinion of the Public Service Commission, justifies his admission to the examination.

(9) No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate of admission from the Public Service Commission.

(10) No recommendations except those invited in the form of application will be taken into consideration. Any attempt on the part of a candidate to obtain support for his application by other means, may disqualify him for admission.

(11) Candidates must pay the following fees:—

(*i*) Rs. 5 with the application form,

(*ii*) Rs. 16 before examination by a Medical Board, and

(*iii*) if accepted for admission to the examination Rs. 100 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

(12) The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject will carry the number of marks shown against it.

SECTION A.—To be taken by all candidates.

		Marks.
1.	Essay	150
2.	English	150
3.	General Knowledge	100
4.	Everyday Science	100
5.	Vernacular Language	150
6.	*Viva Voce*	200

SECTION B.—Candidates are allowed to take up subjects in this section up to a total of 800 marks.

[1] See note marked with asterisk at end of rules.

Languages and Civilisations.

		Marks.
7.	Arabic Language	200
8.	Arabic Civilisation	200
9.	Persian Language	200
10.	Persian Civilisation	200
11.	Sanskrit Language	200
12.	Sanskrit Civilisation	200
13.	Pali Language	200
14.	Pali Civilisation	200
15.	Vernacular Literature	200
16.	English Literature (General)	200
17.	English Literature (Period 1)	100
18.	English Literature (Period 2)	100
19.	English Literature (Period 3)	100
20.	English Literature (Period 4)	100
21.	Latin Language	100

History, Economics, Politics, Law and Philosophy.

		Marks.
22.	Indian History (Period 1)	100
23.	Indian History (Period 2)	100
24.	Indian History (Period 3)	100
25.	Modern European History (Period 1)	100
26.	Modern European History (Period 2)	100
27.	British History (Period 1)	100
28.	British History (Period 2)	100
29.	British History (Period 3)	100
30.	General Economics	200
31.	Economic History	100
32.	Public Economics	100
33.	Political Theory	100
34.	Political Organization	100
35.	Law	200
36.	Moral Philosophy	100
37.	Metaphysics	100
38.	Logic	100
39.	Indian Philosophy	100

[1] See rule 16 below.

Mathematics and Science.

		Marks.
40.	Lower Mathematics, Pure and Applied	200
41.	Higher Mathematics, Pure	200
42.	Higher Mathematics, Applied	200
43.	Lower Chemistry	200
44.	Higher Chemistry	200
45.	Lower Physics	200
46.	Higher Physics	200
47.	Lower Botany	200
48.	Higher Botany	200
49.	Lower Geology	200
50.	Higher Geology	200
51.	Lower Physiology	200
52.	Higher Physiology	200
53.	Lower Zoology	200
54.	Higher Zoology	200
55.	Advanced Geography	200
56.	Astronomy	100
57.	Statistics	100
58.	Psychology	100
59.	Experimental Psychology	100
60.	Physical Anthropology	100
61.	Social Anthropology	100

SECTION C.—Extra numerum subjects.

Candidates are allowed to take one of these subjects but not more than one. A candidate who has taken any period of British History under Section B may not take British History under this section, and a candidate who has taken Advanced Geography under Section B may not take Geography under this section.

		Marks.
62.	British History	100
63.	Geography	100

(13) In subject 5 (Vernacular Language) a candidate may offer any one of the following languages:—Assamese, Bengali, Burmese, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu.

For the examination to be held in 1931 and the six succeeding years, candidates will be allowed to offer French, German or Italian in substitution for Vernacular Language.

(14) The Civilisation (subjects 8, 10, 12 and 14) associated with a language can only be taken by candidates who also offer the language itself.

(15) In subject 15 (Vernacular Literature) a candidate may offer the literature of any one of the following languages:—Bengali, Burmese, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu.

(16) In English Literature (subjects 16 to 20 inclusive) a candidate may not offer subjects carrying a total of more than four hundred marks. Thus a candidate who offers English Literature (General) (subject 16) may not offer more than two periods of English Literature (subjects 17 to 20).

(17) Candidates who offer a natural science subject (subjects 43 to 54) must produce a certificate that subsequent to the passing of the Intermediate or an equivalent examination they have undergone laboratory training for a period of two years in an Institution authorised to prepare candidates in the subject for a University degree or for some other qualification accepted by the Public Service Commission as of adequate standard. The certificate must be signed by the head of the institution.

Provided that for the first examination to be held after January, 1930, the period required from candidates who offer the lower grade of the subject in question shall be one year instead of two.

(18) Candidates who offer Advanced Geography, Experimental Psychology or Physical Anthropology (subjects 55, 59 and 60) must produce a certificate that subsequent to the passing of the Intermediate or an equivalent examination they have undergone practical training in that subject for a period of one year in an Institution authorised to prepare candidates in the subject for a University degree or for some other qualification accepted by the Public Service Commission as of adequate standard. The certificate must be signed by the head of the institution.

(19) Candidates who offer Astronomy (subject 56) must satisfy the Public Service Commission that they have been trained in an Astronomical observatory for a period of at least three months or have had other experience of the use of the Astronomical instruments.

(20) From the marks assigned to candidates in each subject, such deduction will be made as the Public Service Commission may consider necessary in order to secure that no credit is allowed for merely superficial knowledge.

(21) If a candidate's handwriting is not easily legible, a deduction,

which may be of considerable amount, will be made on this account from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.

(22) Credit will be given for good English, including orderly, effective and exact expression combined with due economy of words, in all the subjects of the examination and not only in subjects 1 and 2 which are specially devoted to English language.

(23) A list of the competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally awarded to each competitor, and in that order, so many competitors up to the determined number of appointments,[1] as are found by the Public Service Commission to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service, provided that the Governor General of India in Council is satisfied that they are duly qualified in other respects. Should any selected candidate become disqualified, the Secretary of State for India will determine whether the vacancy thus created shall be filled or not. In the former case the candidate next in order of merit, and in other respects duly qualified, shall be deemed to be a selected candidate.

(24) Selected candidates will be on probation for two years in the United Kingdom.

Special Rule applicable to Burman Candidates.

(25) (*i*) The term " Burman candidate " means a candidate domiciled in Burma both at the date of his birth and at the date when he applies to be admitted to the examination.

(*ii*) A branch of the competitive examination confined to Burman candidates shall be held in Burma and no Burman candidate shall compete elsewhere in India.

(*iii*) Burman candidates shall apply to be admitted to the examination to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma before such date and in such form as the Governor General in Council shall prescribe and rules 3 (*i*) and 3 (*ii*) shall not apply to Burman candidates.

(*iv*) Burman candidates shall not be included in the list made out under rule 23 but a separate list of Burman candidates shall be made out with reference to the determined number of appointments available in Burma to which the provisions of rule 23 shall apply.

(26) Any rules for the regulation of admission to the Indian Civil Service through competitive examinations held in India which are in force at the time these rules come into operation are hereby repealed.

[1] Elsewhere than in Burma the number of appointments which will be announced for competition will not represent the total number of vacancies to be filled in India, as certain

**The following Universities have been approved by the Governor General in Council*, viz.—

Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield and Wales.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities.

The University of Dublin (Trinity College).

The Queen's University of Belfast.

* * *

Syllabus for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination to be held in India

1. *Essay.*—An essay to be written in English on one of several specified subjects.

2. *English.*—Questions to test the understanding of and the power to write English.

3. *General Knowledge* including knowledge of current events.

4. *Everyday Science.*—Questions to test whether the candidate has such an understanding of matters of everyday observation and experience in their scientific aspect as may be expected of an educated man who has not made a special study of any scientific subject.

vacancies will be reserved in accordance with the pledge given by the Hon'ble Home Member in the Council of State on the 2nd March, 1925, and will be filled, if necessary, by nomination for the purpose of adjusting communal inequalities which may arise from the results of the competitive examinations in London and India.

In the case of Burma the number of appointments announced for competition in 1931 will represent the total number of vacancies to be filled.

5. *Vernacular of European Language* (see Rule 13).—The test will include translation from the language, set composition in which an English passage is given to be put into the language, and free composition in which the candidate writes in the language in his own words on a prescribed subject.

6. *Viva Voce.*—The Examination will be in matters of general interest, not in matters of academic interest; it is intended to test the candidate's alertness, intelligence, and general outlook.

7-14. LANGUAGES AND CIVILISATIONS.—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the language and its literature. The papers on civilisation will test the knowledge of geography, history, and social, political and religious evolution and developments. Questions may be set which require an acquaintance with archæological discoveries.

7. *Arabic Lauguage.*—Translation from Arabic into English and from English into Arabic and composition in Arabic on one or more specified subjects. The classical language must be used.

8. *Arabic Civilisation.*—The main stress in both history and literature will be on the period from the middle of the 6th Century A.D. to the middle of the 13th Century A.D.

9. *Persian Language.*—Translation from Persian into English and from English into Persian and composition in Persian on one or more specified subjects. The classical language must be used.

10. *Persian Civilisation.*—The main stress in both history and literature will be laid on the period 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. Candidates will be expected to have a general knowledge of Persia before 1000 A.D. and from 1500 A.D. to the present time.

11. *Sanskrit Language.*—Translation from Sanskrit into English and from English into Sanskrit and composition in Sanskrit on one o more specified subjects.

Questions may be set on Vedic Grammar relating to grammatical forms occurring in the passages set for translation or to general grammatical questions suggested by them. Both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit passages will be set for translation: composition will be required in classical Sanskrit alone. A knowledge of the Prakrit used in plays will be expected. The Devanagari script must be used.

12. *Sanskrit Civilisation.*—The history of the Civilisation and thought of India from the Vedic period to 1200 A.D.

13. *Pali Language.*—Translation from Pali into English and from English into Pali and composition in Pali on one or more specified subjects.

14. *Pali Civilisation.*—The history of Buddhistic Civilisation in India from the time of Buddha to 1000 A.D.

15. *Vernacular Literature.*—Candidates will be expected to know the best known works in the vernacular though questions on works of lesser importance will not be excluded. They will also be expected to possess a knowledge of the history of the literature and such knowledge of general social history as will enable them to understand the literature.

16. *English Literature—General.*—Candidates will be expected to show a general knowledge of the history of English Literature from the time of Chaucer to the end of the reign of Queen Victoria and to give evidence of wide reading in English Literature. A liberal choice of questions will be given. Neither in the general papers nor in the period papers will questions be asked on the history of the language.

17-20. *English Literature—Periods 1 to 4.*

Special attention should be paid to the authors named and a candidate will be expected to be familiar with some of their works.

A candidate will also be expected to have studied the literary history of this period and to have done some independent reading outside the authors named. In marking the paper importance will be attached to evidence of wide reading and independent judgment.

Period 1, 1580 to 1680:—Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Bunyan.

Period 2, 1680 to 1780:—Dryden, Pope, Gray, Addison, Swift, Fielding, Johnson, Sheridan, Burke.

Period 3, 1780 to 1832:—Scott, Wordsworth, Lamb, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Jane Austen.

Period 4, 1832 to 1901:—Macaulay, Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray, the Brontës, Tennyson, Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, R. L. Stevenson, Thomas Hardy.

21. *Latin Language.*—The papers will be of a fairly elementary character. Translation from English into the language and from the language into English. Questions may be asked on the Grammar of the language.

HISTORY.—*Subjects 22 to 29.*—Candidates in these subjects should be acquainted with geography in its relation to history and be prepared to draw sketch maps. When a fixed date is given for the beginning of a period candidates will be expected to know in general outline how the initial position was reached.

22. *Indian History—Period 1.*—India from the first Aryan immigra-

tion to the end of the 12th century. Questions may also be set on the history of Buddhism outside of India.

23. *Indian History—Period 2.*—India from the beginning of the 11th century to 1748 (death of the Mogul Muhammad Shah). Questions may also be set on the contemporary history of the principal Moslem powers outside of India.

24. *Indian History—Period 3.*—India during the British period from 1600 to 1919 together with the contemporary history of the British Empire.

25 and 26. *Modern European History—*
Period 1, 1453—1740.
Period 2, 1740—1920.

The history of countries outside Europe will be included so far as a knowledge of that history is necessary to the understanding of European History.

27. *British History—Period 1*, 1485—1714.

28. *British History—Period 2*, 1714—1815.

29. *British History—Period 3*, 1815—present day.

30. *General Economics.*—Candidates will be expected to have a knowledge of economic theory and should be prepared both to illustrate the theory by the facts and to analyse the facts by the help of the theory. The history of economic thought will be included.

31. *Economic History.*—Candidates will be expected to have a knowledge of both British and Indian economic history; such knowledge will be expected of conditions in other countries as is necessary for the understanding of the subject. Special attention will be paid to the economic development of India during the British period.

32. *Public Economics.*—A knowledge will be expected of the main forms of State action, central and local, in the economic sphere, and of public finance.

33. *Political Theory.*—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of political theory and its history, political theory being understood to mean not only the theory of legislation, but also the general history of the State and its connection with kindred studies such as Jurisprudence, Public International Law and Economics. A knowledge of original authorities is required.

34. *Political Organisation.*—This will include Constitutional Forms (Representative Government, Federalism, etc.), and Public Administration, central and local. Candidates will be expected to understand the origin and development of existing institutions.

35. *Law.*—Constitutional Law of the British Empire, Jurisprudence, Torts, Indian Law of Contract, Indian Evidence Act, Indian Penal Code.

36. *Moral Philosophy.*—The subject covers the history and the theory of Ethics, Eastern add Western, and includes moral standards and their application, the problems of moral order and progress of Society and the State, and theories of punishment.

37. *Metaphysics.*—The subject covers the history of Western Philosophy and should be studied with special reference to the problems of space, time and casualty, evolution and value, the nature of God.

38. *Logic.*—This will include formal logic, scientific method, epistemology in its bearing on logical problems and the history of logic. Questions may be set on the logic of mathematics, symbolic logic and the logic of probability.

39. *Indian Philosophy.*—The subject covers the philosophical conception of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita; Buddhist and Jaina developments; the six systems of Indian Philosophy, *viz.*, the Nyaya, the Vaisesika, the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Purva Mimansa and the Vedanta, treated historically and critically.

40. *Lower Mathematics, Pure and Applied.*—Logarithms, numerical equations, graphs, approximation, infinite series, complex numbers, solution of triangles.

Geometry in two and three dimensions according to the method of Euclid. Analytical geometry in two dimensions (method of Descartes). The construction of plans, elevations and sections of solid bodies (method of Monge). The method of vectors, including scalar and vector products with applications to the other parts of Lower Mathematics.

Differential co-efficients, maxima and minima, integrals, the application of the infinitesimal calculus to curves.

Projectiles, harmonic motion, momentum, energy, power. Equilibrium of rigid bodies in two dimensions, link polygons, virtual work. Simple machines, *e.g.*, tackle cranes, engine governors, brakes. Fluid pressure, expansion of a perfect gas, air pump.

41. *Higher Mathematics, Pure* :—

Lower Pure Mathematics together with—

The Geometry of Curves and Surfaces. Elementary analysis, including simple functions of a complex variable and contour integration. Differential equation in one independent variable; elementary treatment of partial differential equations with special

reference to the differential equations of mathematical physics. Existence theorems are excluded.

Calculus of Finite Differences including Numerical Integration and summation of Linear Differential Equations. Advanced questions will not be set.

A considerable choice of questions will be given so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the range stated.

42. *Higher Mathematics, Applied*:—

Lower Applied Mathematics together with Statics (Advance) including graphical treatment. Dynamics to the Equations of Euler and Lagrange and including the theory of the vibration of strings and other simple systems.

Hydrodynamics including the elementary theory of the motion of solids through a liquid, and surface waves.

Electricity and Magnetism.

Thermodynamics. Kinetic theory of gases, rediation.

The questions on Hydrodynamics, Electricity and Magnetism, and Thermodynamics will not be such as to require of the candidates an advanced knowledge of these subjects.

A considerable choice of questions will be allowed so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the course.

NATURAL SCIENCE.—*Subjects 43 to 54.*—The standard of the higher division of a science will be the standard of a three years' honours course subsequent to the intermediate. The standard of the lower division will be that of a pass degree course.

43. *Lower Chemistry.*

44. *Higher Chemistry.*

45. *Lower Physics.*

46. *Higher Physics.*

47 and 48. *Lower and Higher Botany.*—Botany includes vegetable physiology.

49 and 50. *Lower and Higher Geology.*—Geology includes mineralogy.

51. *Lower Physiology.*

52. *Higher Physiology.*

53. *Lower Zoology.*

54. *Higher Zoology.*

55. *Advanced Geography.*—Geography of the world with special reference to India. Topics are not excluded which concern geography jointly with other subjects such as Economics, History, Physics, Botany and Geology. There will be a practical test which will necessitate a knowledge

of cartographical methods and notations, and for this test drawing instruments may be required.

56. *Astronomy.*—Celestial co-ordinates, spherical triangles. Astronomical instruments. Time, longitude, latitude. Orbital motion of the earth, aberration, precession, nutation, libration parallax. Celestial mechanics, solar system. Eclipses. Atmospheric refraction.

The stars and constellations. Nautical Almanac. Descriptive discussion of sun, moon, planets. Descriptive discussion of double stars, nebulæ, clusters, variable stars, comets. Star magnitudes and distances. Stellar movements.

Application of spectroscopy to astronomy. Solar spectrum. Star spectra and classification. The temperatures, absolute magnitudes and diameters of stars.

57. *Statistics.*—Frequency distributions, averages, percentiles, and simple methods of measuring dispersion, graphic methods, elementary treatment of qualitative data, *e.g.*, investigation of association by comparison of ratios, the practice of the simplest graphic and algebraic methods of interpolation.

(2) Practical methods used in the analysis and interpretation of statistics of prices, wages and incomes, trade, transport, production and consumption, education, etc., the more elementary methods of dealing with population and vital statistics, miscellaneous methods used in handling statistics of experiments or observations.

(3) Elements of modern mathematical theory of statistics, frequency curves and the mathematical representation of groups generally, accuracy of sampling as affecting averages, percentages, the standard deviation, significance of observed differences between averages of groups, etc., the theory of correlation for two variables.

58. *Psychology.*

59. *Experimental Psychology.*

60. *Physical Anthropology.*—The subject includes prehistoric archæology and technology. Candidates will be expected to have such knowledge as may be required by laboratory and museum work, consisting mainly in the handling and study of specimens and exhibits. The subject should be studied with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture and to prehistoric civilisation.

61. *Social Anthropology.*—Candidates will not be expected to have an extensive experience of laboratory and museum work. The subject should be studied with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture and to prehistoric civilisation.

Extra Numerum.

62. *British History.*—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the general course of the political, social and industrial history of Britain from the earliest times and of the British Empire. Candidates will not be expected to know the history of Scotland or Ireland except in its relation to England or the Empire. More credit will be given for an understanding of the broad lines of historical and constitutional developments than for a knowledge of details or minor events which had no lasting effect on that development.

63. *Geography.*—The general and political geography of the world. A special knowledge of the geography of India and neighbouring countries will be expected. Questions on physical and economic geography may be set. The paper will not be of an advanced character.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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Here is a short list of *some* of the articles that were published in the *Review* during the last few months :

1. Influence of Indian Thought on German Philosophy.
2. German Thought of To-day.
3. System of Education in Germany with special reference to the study of Oriental Languages.
4. Jainism, its historical importance and its relations to other religions of the world.
5. The Social Atmosphere of present Jainism.
6. Early Life of Buddha.
7. The Reform of Calcutta University.

8. Britons and Bengalis.
9. Present Tendency of Turkish Foreign Policy.
10. Societal Speculation in Eur-America with special reference to Economics and Politics.
11. History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.
12. The Agricultural Land in Ancient India.
13. Slavery in Ancient India.
14. Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.
15. India and the British Commonwealth of Nation.
16. Purchase of Sterling.
17. Nehru Committee's Report.
18. Some Observations on the High Price of Food Grains in India.
19. Germany, Ten years after the World War.
20. Early Bank Note Issues and their Lessons.
21. Early Phases of the History of Independence as it developed in the British Colonies of North America.
22. Transferability of Occupancy Holdings in Bengal.
23. Regeneration of Rural Bengal.
24. The Present-day Dominion Status.
25. The Fascist Movement in Italy.
26. The Republic of China.
27. Anglo-American Relations and India.
28. The Problem of Indian National Defence.
29. Indo-Persian Architecture.
30. Popular Control of the Purse.
31. Why America has become so great?
32. The Ninth Section of the Regulating Act of 1773.
33. The Making of a Nation.
34. Indian Nationalism and Bolshevism.
35. The Future Outlook of the Indian Joint-Stock Banks.
36. Study of Indian Currency.
37. Influence of Fascism on Italian Youth.
38. Instalment Credit System in America.

39. The Bengal Landholder—Sub-division, Fragmentation and Sub-Infeudation.
40. The Indian States and Mints and Coinage.
41. Problem of a Second Chamber in India.
42. The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.
43. Indian Railways, 1925-28.
44. A Birds' eye-view of Dutch Railways.
45. Report of the Indian States Committee.
46. Was the British Empire of India the result of design?
47. The Twelfth Session of the International Labour Conference.
48. New Concepts of Matter and Radiation.
49. Education does not pay.
50. Whom should we educate?
51. The Character of the Teacher.
52. Costs of Vocational Training.
53. Vocational Instruction.
54. Educational Administration.
55. Affectations.
56. England in Contemporary English Literature.
57. Development of Negro Poetry.
58. The Unity of Empire Farming.
59. The Date of Zoroaster.
60. The Poetry of W. B. Yeats.
61. The Philosophy of Shelley.
62. Robert Bridges.
63. Stories of Edgar Allan Poe.
64. Milton's 'Satan.'
65. Henrik Ibsen.
66. Lyrics from Elizabethan Dramatists.
67. Essays on Chaucer.
68. English Poetic Diction, 1579-1830.
69. Thomas Hardy.

70. The East in English Literature.
71. What is Poetry?
72. Italian Literature.
73. King Lear.
74. The Art of Maeterlinck.
75. Beethoven at home.
76. Music and Musicians.
77. Hindu Religious Festivals and their Music.
78. The Dialogue as an Instrument of Literary Criticism.
79. Brahms and his Music.
80. The Moral order in the Shakespearian Tragedy.
81. Charles Lamb.
82. A Manx Poet.
83. Sir William Browne and his Britannia Pastorals.
84. Coleridge's Supernaturalism.
85. The True Artist and his Art.
86. Realism and Humour in Music.
87. An Essay on Laughter.
88. Snobbishness.
89. Cupid's Biography.
90. Universality of Poetry.
91. India—Centre of Hindu Art and Culture.
92. The Composition of the Gathas.
93. Place of Bradley in British Thought.
94. Bradley from the Standpoint of Saṃkara-Vedanta.
95. Some Aspects of Inspiration in Music and Poetry.
96. Rosenkranz, the Philosopher.
97. Plato and Plotinus on God.
98. Wireless and its Possibilities.
99. Life of the celebrated Sevagy.
100. The Tyranny of the Body.
101. The Study of History and Research.
102. The True Ideal of a University.
103. Old and Mediaeval Bengali Literature.
104. Concept of Law.

105. Law and Morals.
106. Law and the other Sciences.
107. The Absolute Self.
108. The Problem of Secondary Education.
109. Raja Rammohan Ray.
110. The March of the History of Philosophy.
111. The Scientific Basis of Monadism.
112. Municipal and Central Government.
113. Itihāsa-Purāna.
114. Identification of ' Tikotika Cakama.'
115. Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee.
116. The Ceylon University Commission Report.
117. Convocation Address of the Mysore University.
118. Convocation Address of the Andhra University.
119. Convocation Address of the Calcutta University.
120. Convocation Address of the Dacca University.
121. The Religion of Harmony.
122. A Chapter from the French Revolution.
123. Medical Education in Germany.
124. Caligula's Galleys.
125. Bhārhut Jātakas in a new Light.
126. The New Germany and the Future.
127. The Way to Hindu Solidarity.
128. Prasangānumāna.
129. The Ethical Basis of Philosophy.
130. The University and the Future.
131. An Examination of Hume's Theory of Relations.
132. The Avestan Gathas.
133. Original Nature of Jatakas.
134. How did Jesus interpret Himself.
135. The Problem of Puruṣottoma in the Gita.
136. Mathematics and Literature.
137. Mathematics and Agriculture.
138. Mathematies and Education.
139. The Idealism of the school of Dignāga.

140. Asiatic and Inter-Provincial Trade of Bengal in the Mid-Eighteenth Century.
141. Juvenile Offenders in Calcutta.
142. Reflections of a Wayfarer.
143. The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire.
144. Progress of Banking in India.
145. Kṣaṇabhaṇga vāda.
146. Presidential Speech at the All-India Medical Conference.
147. Rebirth in the Pali Scriptures.
148. The Doctrine of the Concrete Universal.
149. Ancient Hindu Tradition and the Present Age of the Earth.
150. Nepal's Relations with the Outer World.
151. Indian Farming Problems.
152. Some Problems of Secondary Education in Bengal.
153. An Introduction to the Study of Scottish Architecture.
154. Paundra Vardhana to Karna Subarna.
155. Saṁkara on the nature of the Subject.
156. A Critical Estimate of the Mīmāṁsā Theory of Soul from Buddhist Standpoint.
157. Grammar and its Critics.
158. Popular Elements in the Purānas.
159. Two Savants.
160. Thoughts on Progress.
161. India's Political Crisis.
162. Banker's Bank for India.

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